THE EPHEBIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

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FOREWORD

In a peculiar sense the study of the Athenian ephebia, not only in the fourth century B.C., but in every period must be the study primarily of the ephebic inscriptions. Apart from Aristotle's brief description, our knowledge of the institution rests not on statements about it, but largely on inferences and deductions from the inscriptions themselves. Hence the title of the work which in actuality is an attempt to reconstruct a picture of the ephebia,—its origins, its purpose, its functioning, its development and its place in Greek history.

Paramount in this study, therefore, is the establishment of a critical text of the ephebic documents of the fourth century B.C. A large amount of valuable and detailed work has been done on individual texts by many able predecessors; others are still known only from the reading and comment of the first editor. So, for example, *IG* II^2 478 (my No. 17) has long been used by historians from Sundwall to Gomme as evidence for the population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. All of them base their conclusions on Kirchner's text which essentially repeats Koehler's first reading. This inscription has not, until now, been subjected to a rigorous re-examination and re-editing in order to ascertain just how many names of epheboi could reasonably be accomodated on the stone.

The inscriptional evidence is indirect, incidental and casual, and conclusions from it depend on inferences from the identification of epheboi and ephebic officialdom, the names of other officials and groups, the headings, the individuals and corporations which are given honorary mention, the prominence of one official over another by frequency of mention or by the position of his name on the stone, the general arrangement of the text, the presence or absence of a given feature in one as compared with another inscription, the provenience, kinds and shapes of the stones,—these and other like small matters are the clues with which we must work. Thus the knowledge that the taxiarch and the lochagoi in fourth century B.C. inscriptions are cadet and not tribal officers is a certain deduction from the fact that their names are duplicated in the roster of the epheboi.

Emendations, restorations and historical comment relating to these documents have appeared scattered among the notes on inscriptions of diverse kind in many books and journals many of which are not readily accessible. The evidence is cogent only when it can be viewed cumulatively and comparatively; the documents must be presented as wholes together with all the pertinent, multifarious details about them. The evidence must be seen rather than merely described.

The revolutionary discovery of an ephebic inscription which indubitably documents the ephebia as a formal institution twenty-nine years before its long-held putative beginning in 336/5 must change completely our view of its beginnings, its development and, most of all, its place and function in Greek history. A re-appraisal of the ephebia which views it, not primarily as the static institution of Aristotle's description, but as the changing and evolving institution which emerges from the inscriptional evidence combined with what we know of it from the literary sources, is given in the concluding section of this work.

We may hope that new texts will yet be found to supplement the sole document prior to the inscriptions which are extant from the second half of the fourth century to fill in the vague picture of the ephebia in the early period. The relatively full inscriptional material from the Hellenistic and Imperial Periods is being re-worked. Many fragmentary inscriptions which have been separately published are being joined as parts of the same inscription, notably by Professor M. Mitsos. New readings and restorations and more accurate datings have been and are being proposed. All of which should enable us to look forward to the establishment of a critical text of the inscriptions of these periods which must be the basis for an analysis and historical exploitation of their content in order to draw a picture of the later ephebia.

My work on the ephebic inscriptions here treated has been carried on during many summers at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. I am deeply indebted to the Director, the Faculty of the School of Historical Studies, and particularly to Professor B. D. Meritt for extending to me the invitation to avail myself of the unique facilities there for Greek epigraphical studies. The staff of the library as well as the housekeeping staff have rendered every service possible to make my study there agreeable and profitable. At every turn I have gained much from

consultation and discussion with Professors Meritt and James F. Gilliam of the Institute as well as with other scholars who were from time to time at the Institute of whom I should like to mention particularly Professors A. E. Raubitschek and Fordyce W. Mitchel and Dr. Jochen Twele. Dr. M. Mitsos, both in Athens and at the Institute, has always given me the benefit of his wide and intimate knowledge of Greek inscriptions and Greek history. Professors James R. McCredie, Ronald Stroud and Eugene Vanderpool, Miss Poly Demoulini and Dr. Dina Peppas-Delmousou have been most helpful in securing the necessary photographs. Mr. Lewis E. Haymes gave valuable assistance in the preparation of the Indices which was supported by a grant from the University of Texas Research Institute. To all of these individuals I wish to express my thanks.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
'Αρχ. Δελτ.	'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
'Αρχ. 'Εφ.	'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερίς
Ath. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
Dar.-Sagl.	Daremberg, C., Saglio, E., Pottier, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines.* Paris, 1873-1914
EM	Epigraphical Museum in Athens, Greece
F. de D.	*Fouilles de Delphes.* vol. III *Epigraphie.* Paris, 1909-
FHG	Jacoby, F., *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Berlin, 1923-
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
Hesp.	*Hesperia*
IG II²	*Inscriptiones Graecae. editio altera.* Kirchner, J., Berlin, 1913-35
Inscr. de Délos	*Inscriptions de Délos.* Durrbach, F., Roussel, P., Launey, M., Paris, 1926-37
La Forteresse	Pouilloux, J. *La forteresse de Rhamnonte.* Paris, 1954.
Michel, *Recueil.*	Michel, Ch., *Recueil d'inscriptions Grecques.* Brussels, 1900.
PA	Kirchner, J., *Prosopographia Attica.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1901-03
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
Rev. Arch.	*Revue Archéologique*
REG	*Revue des Études grecques*
Rev. Phil.	*Revue de philologie, d'histoire et de littérature anciennes*
Riv. di Fil.	*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
Sitzb. d. Berl. Ak.	*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie. Philologische-Historische Klasse*
Syll.	*Dittenberger,* W., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecorum*³. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915-24
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

1

(Plates I and II)

THE TRIBE AKAMANTIS HONORS THE KOSMETES OF THE EPHEBOI

361/0. Archon, Nikophemos.

M. Th. Mitsos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1965 (1967), 131-132. *EM* 13354. 13354 a.

Two fragments of white marble found at a depth of 3.20 m. in front of house No. 79, K. Labake Street in Athens. *EM* 13354: H. 0.30 m., W. 0.23 m., Th. 0.09 m., L.H. 0.007 m. Left margin preserved. *EM* 13354 a: H. 0.35 m., W. 0.23 m., L.H. 0.004 m., L. Int. 0.007 m. Right margin preserved. The measurements of the two fragments indicate a stele ca. one meter high and ca. 0.45 m. wide. One wreath is centered below the heading, Ἐπὶ Νικοφή[μο ἄρχοντος]. Only the left side of the wreath of olive-bearing branches is preserved. If the stele was approximately one meter in height there was ca. 0.35 m. of space between the two fragments.

an undetermined number of lines

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34 I [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Π̣ Η . . ΟΠΑΤ̣ . . . .
[- - - - - - - - - - - αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγό?] νοις ἀτέλεια[ν]
[διὰ τρία ἔτη τῶν ἐγκυκλίων] λῃτουργίων [.]
[- ἐ]πιμελητεῖ μηθὲ-
[ν ? -] μηδεμίαν μήτε
[- -]υναι πα[ρ]ὰ τὸ δό-
[γμα τῆς φυλῆς ἀποτινέτω(?) χ̣]ιλίας δραχμὰς ἱ-
[ερὰς τῶι Ἀκάμαντι· τὸ δὲ ψή]φισμα τόδ[ε] ἀνα[γ]-
[ράψαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς το]ὺς ἐπὶ Νικοφήμο
[ἄρχοντος καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶ]ι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀκάμ-
[αντος· προσγράψαι δὲ καὶ ? Ἀ]ριστοκράτην Θο-
[ρίκιον καὶ . . .⁷. . . Θορίκ]ιον.

one line uninscribed

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 35 II [Ἐπὶ Νικοφήμο] ἄρχοντος
[- -]ο Εἰρεσίδης εἶπε-
[ν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφ]ήβων Αὐτόλυκος κ-
[αλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμε]λήθη τῶν νεανίσκ-
[ων, δεδόχθαι τῆι Ἀκαμαντίδ]ι φυλῆι ἐπαινέσ-

[αι Αὐτόλυκον ....[9]..... Θο]ρίκιον φιλοτιμ-
[ίας ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆ]ς περὶ τοὺς ἐφή-
[βους καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ σ]τεφάνωι ἐπε[ι]-
[δὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶι ὧν ἐπεμελή]θη, ἀρετῆς κ[α]-
[ὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα· τὸ δὲ ψήφισ]μα τόδε ἀνα-
[γράψαι τὸν γραμματέα τῆς φυλῆς ἐ]στήλην ἐν
τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀκάμαντος ἐφ' ἧς γέγρα]πται τὸ
[ψήφισμα περὶ τὸς ἐφήβους ἐπὶ Μόλωνο(?)]ς ἄρχο-
[ντος - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

This is the earliest known ephebic inscription. Until its publication in 1967, no ephebic inscription could be dated before 334/3. It gives documentary proof that the ephebia existed before 336/5 as I had argued in *TAPA* 83, 1952, 34-50 (cf. Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, 71 ff.) contrary to the general view following Wilamowitz (*Aristot. und Athen* I (1893), 193-94) that it had been established after Chaeronea.

There are two decrees, I, lines 1-12; II, lines 13-26, but only one wreath which makes the inference, if not necessary, highly probable that one man was honored in both.

The second decree, to begin with it, honors the kosmetes, contrary to the usual practise of the tribal decrees of the fourth century B. C. which honor the sophronistes. Aristotle's account (*Ath. Pol.* 42) makes it clear that the ephebia was organized on a tribal basis. The sophronistai, one for each tribe, were, from the viewpoint of the tribe, the principal officials. They were elected by the whole Demos for each tribe from the thirty candidates selected by the fathers of the epheboi after the roster of the young men who at 18 years of age had registered in the demes, had been established by a dokimasia of the Boule. Only men forty and above who were considered to be the best and most suitable to care for the epheboi were eligible for the position. The city paid the sophronistes one drachma a day for himself and four obols for each ephebos of the tribe with which he purchased the provisions for the common mess. He was *in loco parentis* for the young men of his tribe with responsibility for their moral and disciplinary supervision. The all-inclusive nature of his competence is indicated by Aristotle's concluding remark, "and he looks after everything else."

The epheboi of a given tribe constituted the tribe in miniature. In No. 9, p. 25 Col. I 4-6, the sophronistes is referred to as ὁ σω φ[ρον]ιστὴς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς τ[ῶν ἐ]φήβων, i.e. of the ephebic

tribe as distinct from the tribe itself. The ephebic tribe had cadet military officers paralleling those of the tribe (F. W. Mitchel, *TAPA* 92, 1961, 352-57). Upon leaving office the sophronistes was subject to an audit (No. 9, p. 26 Col. I 18). One tribe awarded him a crown of gold, 500 drachmai in value (No. 2, p. 6 line 33); another, one of 1000 drachmai value (No. 9, p. 26 Col. I 17).

The officials concerned with the group of epheboi as a whole, who in Aristotle's account are also elected by the Demos,—the kosmetes, two paidotribai and an indefinite number of didaskaloi (*Ath. Pol.* 42, 3)—receive less notice in the tribal inscriptions than the sophronistes. The kosmetes is mentioned in No. 8, p. 21 line 11; No. 9, p. 26 Col. II 12-13; and No. 15, p. 59 Right Side, Col. I 4-7 where his title is inscribed above a wreath containing his name. The only mention of the paidotribai, and then only one, occurs late in the century, 305/4 (No. 17, p. 88 line 26, τὸν πα[ιδοτρίβην ---). It seems that the indefinite number of didaskaloi were assigned to specific tribes or that the tribes appointed didaskaloi of their own in addition to the didaskaloi for the whole corps, since the fragmentary names of the didaskaloi for the tribes Leontis and Pandionis in the same year, 333/2, do not appear to be the same individuals (No. 9, p. 26 Col. I lines 34-35; No. 8, p. 21 lines 11-13).

Contrary to the usual practise Akamantis here honors not the sophronistes (Mitsos properly rejects the violation of the stoichedon order in order to restore that title in line 15) but the kosmetes, Autolykos Thorikios. He is honored with praise and by the bestowal of a wreath (l. 20), obviously the one represented at the head of the stone, for his care for the neaniskoi (l. 16) not only of Akamantis but of all the tribes. Akamantis is honoring one of its distinguished members. Autolykos was the grandson of the famous Autolykos, son of Lykon, Thorikios (*PA* 2748).

The person honored with *ateleia* from certain liturgies in the first decree can hardly be anyone else but the same individual. Among the cyclical liturgies we find χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς (Dem. 4, 36); χορηγός, τριήραρχος, φυλῆς ἑστιάτωρ . . . , γυμνασίαρχος (Bekk. *an.* 25; Xen. *Oec.* 2, 6); acting as gymnasiarchos or agonothetes at the games and religious festivals such as the Prometheia, Hephaisteia, the Panathenaia or at ἅμιλλαι τῶν νεῶν (Dar.-Sagl. 3, 1096; *RE* 7, 1987-90). The epheboi participated in many of these festivals and games. What individual would be a

more likely candidate for nomination to a gymnasiarchal liturgy than a wealthy ex-kosmetes, especially if he was the grandson of a man who had distinguished himself by winning the pentathlon in the Panathenaic festival of 422/21 ? What honor would be more appropriate for such an individual than relief from this burden ?

The fragmentary inscription necessarily leaves much unclear. Why are Aristokrates and the other tribesman from Thorikos mentioned in lines 11-12? Aristokrates was doubtless a member of the same family as Πολυκλῆς Ἀριστοκράτου Θορίκιος and Π.Π.Θ who were commemorated by gravestones dated *s.* III/II and *s.* II *a.* (*IG* II^2 6237 and 6238). A stemma of the family of noble statue makers is given in *PA* 11992. Why is the inscription of one decree entrusted to the epimeletai, of the other to the grammateus of the tribe ?

The restoration περὶ τὸς ἐφήβους, line 25, is unsatisfactory both because of the inconsistent spelling of the article (cf. line 19) and more so because there is no mention of epheboi in the extant portion of the first decree. The ingenious restoration of the name of the archon of the year before Nikophemos under whom the epheboi would have served makes it likely that a third decree preceded the two which are preserved, a possibility which Mitsos mentions (l.c. p. 132), in which the epheboi of Akamantis were praised. The inscription was to be placed ἐν τῶ]ι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀκάμ[αντος ---] (lines 10-11. 23-24). With much probability Mitsos argues that it was located in the area of the present-day Kallithea which was anciently occupied by the deme Xypete belonging to the tribe Kekropis. The shrine was originally dedicated to the worship of the Palladium and later transferred to the hero Akamas (l.c. p. 136). In addition to the shrine of Akamas here, tribal shrines are mentioned in *IG* II^2 1138, 8; 1144, 9; 1148, 13; 1152, 12 (Pandionis); 1149, 5; 1163, 25 (Asklepieion, Hippothontis); No. 2, p. 6 line 35; 1158, 9 (Kekropis); and No. 9, p. 26 Col. II 5 (Leontis).

2

(Plate III)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI OF KEKROPIS WITH ROSTER

334/3. Archon, Ktesikles.

IG II² 1156. *EM* 7743.

Pentelic stele, broken above, apparently originally resting on a base. Found on the Akropolis. H. 1.02 m., W. 0.51 m., Th. 0.12 m., L. H. 0.005 m., L. Int. 0.01 m. To accomodate the names from the missing demes the stele may originally have been ca. 1.28 m. high. It is inscribed stoichedon with 47-50 letters a line, but in lines 56-63 the first two letters occupy three spaces.

	------- ου
	------- ους
	------- νίππου
	------- άδ[ο]υ
	---- Μνησιθέου
	---- Ἡγησιφάνους
	[. . . . μα]χος Γλαυκέτου
	[. . . .]ανόδωρος Λυσιστράτου
	[Κα]λλίας Καλλιάδους
	Ἀντιφῶν Ἐπιτρόπου
	Χρέμης Σμικύθου
	Αἰξωνῆς·
	Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείδου
	Μελάνθιος [Ἀ]ριστείδου
----------	Θεότιμος Θεοπόμπου
[-------]μοκρίτου	Ἀμφίστρατος Φιλημονίδου
[-------- κ]ράτους	Δημοκλείδης Δημέου
[*demoticum*]	Θεόδοτος Αἴσχρωνος
[. . . .⁸. . . .]νος Φυρομάχου	Ἐπικράτης Εὐκράτους
[Χαιρέστ]ρατος Χαιρίωνος	Ξυπεταιόνες·
[. . . .]οτος Δημητρίου	Νικίας Εὐκταίου
[. . .]γένης Σάβωνος	Ξενοφῶν Μνησιάδου
[Ἀ]ντισθένης Ἀντιφάτους	Πιθῆς·
Δαιδαλίδαι·	Τεισαμενὸς Κίρου
Φιλόξενος Φιλονόμου	Αὐτοκλῆς Χαρίππου

Καλλικράτης Αἰξωνεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκρ[οπί]δος οἱ ἐπ[ὶ Κτη]σ[ι]κλέους ἄρχοντος εὐτακτοῦσιν καὶ π[ο]ιοῦσ[ιν] πάντα ὅ[σα αὐτ]οῖς οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν καὶ τ[ῶι σωφρ]ονι[στ]εῖ πειθ[αρχο]ῦσιν τῶι χειροτονηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δ[ήμου, ἐπ]αιν[έσ]αι αὐτ[οὺς κα]ὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπ[ὸ 𐅅 δραχ]μῶν κοσμι[ότητ]ος ἕνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σω[φρο]νιστὴν Ἄδειστον Ἀντιμάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυ[σῶι] στεφάνωι ἀπὸ 𐅅 δραχμῶν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελή[θη] τῶν ἐφήβων τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φι]σμα ἐν στήληι λιθίνι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Κέκροπος ἱερ[ῶι].

Ἡγέμαχος Χαιρήμονος Περιθοίδης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβο[ι οἱ] τῆς Κεκροπίδος ταχθέντες Ἐλευσῖνι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμω[ς ἐπ]ιμελοῦνται ὧν αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προστάττει κα[ὶ εὐτ]άκτους αὐτοὺς παρέχουσιν, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς κοσμιότη[τος] ἕνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἕ[καστον] αὐτῶν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν Ἄδειστ[ον Ἀντι]μάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἐπε[ιδὰν τὰ]ς εὐθύνας δῶι· ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ[νάθημα] ὃ ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Κεκροπίδος. *vacat*

Πρωτίας εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις, ἐπειδὴ καλ[ῶς καὶ φι]λοτίμως ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσῖνος ο[ἱ] τῆ[ς Κεκροπί][δ]ο[ς ἔφηβ]οι καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστὴς αὐτῶν Ἄδειστος [Ἀν]τι[μ]ά[χου Ἀθμο][νεύς, ἐπαι]νέσα[ι] αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶ[ν θαλλοῦ] [στεφάνωι]. ἀναγ[ρ]άψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, [ὃ ἀνα][τι]θέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκροπίδος οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέ[ους] [ἄ]ρχοντος. *vacat*

Εὐφρόνιος εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις, ἐπειδὴ οἱ[ἔφηβοι] οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέος ἄρχοντος ἐνγραφέντες εὐτακτοῦσιν [καὶ] ποιοῦσιν πάντα ὅσα οἱ νόμοι αὐτοῖς προστάττουσιν, καὶ ὁ [σω]φρονιστὴς ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἀποφαίνει αὐτο[υς] πειθάρχοντας καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ποιοῦντας φιλοτίμως, ἐπ[αι]νέσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ 𐅅 δρα[χμ]ῶν κοσμιότητος εἵνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν] σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν Ἄδειστον Ἀντιμάχου Ἀθμονέα, καὶ στεφανῶσ(αι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ) 𐅅 δραχμῶν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθη τῶν τε δημοτῶν (καὶ τῶν) ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ὃ ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Κεκροπίδος καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστής. *vacat*

vacat 0.04 m., left side to 0.065 m., right side

Ἡ φυλή.	Ἡ βουλή.	Ἐλευσίνιοι.	Ἀθμονῆς.

vacat 0.34 m.

The heading is lost as it is in the similar inscriptions of the same year, No. 3, p. 11 and No. 4, p. 13 (for new reading and date see Mitchel, *Hesp.* 33, 1964, pp. 349-50), and of the following year, No. 8, p. 21 and No. 9, p. 25. No. 9 is dedicated [τῶι ἥ]ρωι, that is to Leos, the son of Orpheus and eponym of the tribe Leontis.

The names and patronymics of 30 epheboi from 7 demes are arranged in two columns in the upper part of the stone, 2 of an unknown deme; 5 of an unknown deme and one from Daidalidai in the first column; 11 of an unkown deme, 7 Aixoneis, 2 Xypetaiones and 2 Pitheis in the second. Thus information about the demes Halai, Melite, Phlya, Athmonon, Sypalettos, Trinemeia and Epieikidai is lacking. Gomme (*Population*, p. 67) suggests that the 11 epheboi are Meliteis and the 5, Athmoneis, Halieis or Phlyeis and that the total for Kekropis in this year was 43-45. Dittenberger (*Syll.*^{3}, p. 53, note 1) estimates 41-50, Foucart (*BCH* 13, 1889, p. 263), about 60 and Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, p. 121) points out that Gomme's estimate is supported by the fact that 44 epheboi of Kekropis are listed in the tribal inscription of the following year, 333/2 (?), No. 5, p. 16. The missing upper left part of the extant stele would provide 15 spaces for four deme names (assuming that all demes were represented which is demonstrably not always true) and 11 additional epheboi.

Four decrees follow, — I, lines 26-35, of the tribe Kekropis which decrees praise and a gold crown of 500 drachmai value for their epheboi; II, lines 36-44, of the Boule which decrees praise and a crown of thallos for the epheboi and their sophronistes in recognition of their guard duty at Eleusis; III, lines 45-51, of the deme Eleusis which awards praise and a crown of thallos to the epheboi and the sophronistes; IV, of the native deme of the sophronistes, Adeistos, son of Antimachos, bestowing praise and a gold crown of 500 drachmai value on him and on the epheboi. The names of the four bodies awarding the honors are engraved below in the sequence of the decrees.

Prosopographia

Col. I 19. The syntrierarchos in 323/2, Φυρόμ[αχος], *IG* II^2 1632 b, 214, may be the father of the ephebos.

line 20. The reason for Koehler's restoration of [Χαιρέστ]ρατος is not clear.

line 22. The only other occurrence I can find for the patronymic is in a catalogue of foreigners, *med. s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 2391, 20.

Col. II 8. Wilamowitz hesitantly restored [῾Ηριδ]ανόδωρος. F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterb. d. gr. Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1957) p. 284, lists as possibilities: ᾿Αδραν-, Μαν-, Παν-, and Φανόδωρος. Λυσίστρατος Μελιτεύς occurs on a juryman's ballot of about this period, *IG* II² 1851, and as the name of a magistrate after 350/49, *IG* II² 1702, 11. Λυσικράτης Λυσιστράτου Μελιτεύς, possibly the latter' son, was honored with a gold crown in 304/3 for the administration of the sacrifices, *IG* II² 488, 6 and proposed a decree in 302/1, *IG* II² 506, 1.

line 11. Δῶρος Σμικύθου Μελιτεύς, secretary of the Boule and the Demos, *post s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 1751, 62 is related (brother ?).

line 14. [᾿Αριστ]είδης ᾿Αριστομάχου is listed in a catalogue of Kekropis from *med. s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 2385, 17.

line 15. A late descendant, Θεότιμος Αἰξωνεύς was one of the epimeletai ἱερῶν χρημάτων in Delos, *IG* II² 2336 a, 39; Dow, *HSCP* 51, 1940, p. 117, line 33.

line 17. Δημόστρατος Δημίου Α., *IG* II² 5417, *med. s.* IV *a.*, is of the same family.

line 18. Θ. Α. Α. was crowned as ἱεροποιός ca. 325/4, *IG* II² 1199, 10. His grandfather or uncle, Θ. Αἰξωνεύς was epimeletes νεωρίων in 367/6, *IG* II² 1622 d, 502 (367/6).

line 19. ᾿Επικράτης Φιλοκράτους in a catalogue of Kekropis, *med. s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 2385, 52 is a relative.

line 21. This ephebos and his cousin, Εὐκταῖος Νικίου Ξ. are named in a catalogue of ἵππεις, ca. 323/2, *IG* II² 1955, 5. 20. Another cousin, Νικίας Νικοδήμου, was a victorious choregos in 320/19, *IG* II² 3055, 1, and his name also appears in a *ratio centesimarum* of *post med. s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 1598, 5. If the restoration is correct, his grandfather, [Νικίας] Εὐκταίου was one of the proxenoi of Keos after 363/2, *IG* XII 5, 542, 42. The sister of Νικίας Νικοδήμου Ξ., ῾Ηδυλίνη, is commemorated in a gravestone, *IG* II² 6930. There is a stemma under *PA* 10815.

line 24. The grandfather of this ephebos appears to be Πάταικος Πιθεύς, tamias of sacred funds in 390/89, *IG* II² 1400, 4, and his

cousin is listed in the Kekropid catalogue, *IG* II² 2385, 102 from *med. s.* IV *a.*

line 25. A. X. Π. appears in a catalogue *paterarum argentarum*, ca. 330/29, *IG* II² 1576 A, Col. I 71-72, and as syntrierarchos, 323/2, *IG* II² 1632 a, 106-7. His father, X. A. Π., appears in a catalogue *pater. argent.* of ca. 330/29, *IG* II² 1567, 14 and was a councillor of Kekropis in 335/4, *IG* II² 1700, 161. Χάριππος 'Α - - -, *IG* II² 676, 27 (273/2) an epimeletes of sacrifices, perhaps belongs to the same family.

line 26. Καλλικράτης Γλαύκωνος Αἰξωνεύς who was honored in 313/2 together with others of his fellow demesmen for services to the deme, *IG* II² 1202, 5, is perhaps to be identified with the proposer of this decree. His father, Γ. Κ. Α., was one of two choregoi honored by the deme in 317/6, *IG* II² 1200, 5.

line 32. 41. 47. 59. 'Αντίμαχος 'Αριστοκράτου in the catalogue of Kekropis, *med. s.* IV *a.*, several times referred to above, *IG* II² 2385, 47, is doubtless related to the sophronistes.

Notes

1. Line 26, πάντα ὅσα αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν implies continuing regulation of activities, not a body of rules enacted at the creation of an organization. "The life of the epheboi was regulated in the smallest detail by the laws and the decrees of the people" (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, p. 213 and footnote 4) as is clear from the frequent addition of κατά τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου and similar expressions. Sometimes the name of the proposer of a given regulation is specified by name, e.g. in *Hesp.* 16, 1947, 171, No. 67, 32.

2. On the sophronistes, see under No. 1 of the Texts.

3. Line 37. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42, 3) mentions guard duty only at Munichia and Akte in the first year of ephebic service. That they were also stationed at Eleusis where the Sacred Way leading through the pass of Daphne began is indicated here by the decree of the Eleusinians and the similar decree for the epheboi of Hippothontis in this same year (No. 3, p. 11). The honors accorded the epheboi at this time by the people of Eleusis, Rhamnous and Phyle were doubtless given to them not only for their orderly conduct during their stay in the fortresses at these places, but also, as Pouilloux (*La Forteresse*, p. 110, note 1) suggests, for their participation in the religious ceremonies for the Great Goddesses at Eleusis, for

Nemesis at Rhamnous and for Artemis Agrotera and Pan at Phyle. The participation of the epheboi in the Proerosia and the Eleusinia in the second century B. C. is well-attested (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, p. 224), and decrees of the Salaminians which honor them with a gold crown are included with the honorary decree of the Boule and the Demos in Athens (*IG* II² 1008, 75-78; 1011, 53-63; *Hesp.* 24, 1955, p. 231, lines 129-142) or are referred to without being transcribed (*IG* II² 1029, 14-16; 1006, 30-33; 1028, 26). The epheboi are honored here and in the corresponding decree for Hippothontis for their protection of Eleusis. In the Salaminian decrees of a century and a half later their participation in the parade, contests and religious rites of the Aianteia are stressed.

4. Lines 30-33. The value of the gold crown awarded to the same individuals of Hippothontis in this year is not specified. In the following year, 333/2, the sophronistes of Leontis received a crown of 1000 drachmai value from the Boule and the tribe (No. 9, pp. 26. 28 Col. I 17. III 16). A crown of 500 drachmai was awarded the ephebic taxiarch and the cadet lochagoi (Col. I 28-30), a gold crown of unspecified value to the other epheboi, and a wreath of thallos to the didaskaloi (Col. I 36-37). The kosmetes apparently did not share the honor of a crown. Later inscriptions show that, in general, the crown of thallos was reserved for the instructors. In 333/2, Pandionis bestowed a gold crown, value not mentioned, on the epheboi and on the sophronistes (No. 8, p. 21 lines 6-7).

5. Line 64. The bodies making the awards here, as regularly, are named in the sequence in which the decrees are inscribed. The decree of the deme is here exceptionally included because the sophronistes and his son, the taxiarch of the epheboi, were natives of Athmonon.

Previous Editions (the first named is the original publication)

Foucart, *BCH* 13, 1889, 253; Lolling, Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1889, 10; Koehler (using a copy of Lolling), *IG* II 5, 563 b (1895); Dittenberger, Syll.² 519 (1898); Syll.³ 957 (Hiller von Gärtringen, 1920); Kirchner, *IG* II² 1156 (1916).

Literature

Wilamowitz, *Aristot. und Athen* I 193. Beloch, *Klio* 5, 1905, 351. Sundwall, *De instit.* 22. Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, 120-23. A. R. Deprado, Riv. di Fil. N. S. 32, 1954, 301.

3

(Plate IV)

DECREE OF THE ELEUSINIANS HONORING THE EPHEBOI OF HIPPOTHONTIS SET UP BY THE EPHEBOI AND THE SOPHRONISTES OF THE TRIBE

334/3. Archon, Ktesikles.

IG II^2 1189. Museum of Eleusis, Catalogue No. 84.

Fragment of a Pentelic base found at Eleusis. H. 0.16 m., W. 0.23 m., Th. 0.15 m., L. H. 0.005 m. (lines 2-4, 0.01 m.)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[τοῖν θεοῖν οἱ ἔφηβοι καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστὴς τῆς]
[Ἱπποθωντίδος φυ]λῆς οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλ[έους ἄρχοντος]
[στεφανωθέντες ὑ]πὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ [δήμου τοῦ Ἐλε]
[υσινίων ἀνέθηκα]ν.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 63

[........17.........] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἱππο-[θωντίδος ἔφηβοι καλῶς τῆς φυλ]-
[ακῆς Ἐλευσῖνος ἐπε]μελοῦντο καὶ ἐκόσμ[ο]υν καὶ [πάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι προσ]-
[τάττουσι ταχθέντες] Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπεμελοῦντο καὶ [τῶι σωφρονιστῆι πειθαρχοῦ]-
[σιν, ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δ]ημόταις ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον φιλο]-
[τιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων· ἐπ[αινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σωφρονισ]-
[τὴν αὐτῶν ....8....] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας [τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ στεφα]-
[νῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφά]νωι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν αὐτὸν τῶι ἀγ[ῶνι [..........20..........]
[.......15........ τ]ῶν [Δ]ιονυσίων καὶ] καλεῖτω αὐ[τὸν ὁ δήμαρχος καθάπερ καὶ]
[τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ὁ δῆμ]ος ἔδωκεν τὴν προεδρία[ν] [............26.............]
[.........17........]ιτο[...7....]οισουσι[.... [...........29............]

Line 1 has been restored on the analogy of No. 9, p. 25 line 1 (cf. No. 8, p. 21 lines 6-7). D. Philios, the first editor, thought that the stone had inscribed on it only the decree of the Eleusinians and suggested that the sophronistes and a large number of the epheboi of Hippothontis were natives of Eleusis in this year. This would account for the fact that it was set up in Eleusis where it was found. He also felt that the anathema was dedicated τοῖν θεοῖν which has its parallel in the dedication "to the hero" (sc. Leos) in the *Hesperia* text.

Previous Editions

D. Phlios, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1890, 91-94; Koehler (from a squeeze), *IG* II 5, 574 d; Kirchner, *IG* II² 1189.

Literature

Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, pp. 122-23.

4

(Plate V)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI OF ANTIOCHIS OR ERECHTHEIS

334/3. Archon, Ktesikles.

IG II^{2} 2970. *EM* 2802 a.

Left side of a Pentelic stele with an anaglyph representing Athena in relief standing with uplifted right hand and grasping a spear. Her shield rests on the ground partially behind her and held by her left hand. H. 0.57 m., W. 0.24 m., Th. 0.12 m. Lines 1-2 are inscribed on a cymatium, L. H. 0.01 m.; lines 3-10, L. H. 0.005 m., L. Int. 0.01 m. Find place is unknown.

Anaglyph

in cymatio

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[....^{9}.....]ς ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ḳ[τη]σι[κλέου ϛἄρχοντος ἀνέθε]-
[σαν τῶι ἥρω?]ι σ[τεφανωθέν]τες [ὑπὸ τ]ῆς [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου.]

infra cymatium

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 46

[σωφρο]νιστὴ[ς] Ἀφρ[................^{32}................]
[..^{5}...]σαρ[...]κλ[.]ο[.....^{10}..... στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραι]-
[εῖ Κόν]ων Τιμοθέ[ο]υ [Ἀναφλύστιος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι]
[Σώφιλ]ος Ἀ[ριστο]τέ[λους Φυλάσιος.........^{19}..........]
[..^{5}...]ην[...................^{39}...................]
[..^{5}...] κο[σμ]η[τὴς ....^{33}................]
[...]νευς [..]δẹ[.................^{35}.................]
[..^{5}...]ιο[..]στ[.................^{35}.................]

- -

In re-editing the text Mitchel (*Hesp.* 33, 1964, pp. 349-50) read the archon's name Κ[τη]σι[κλέους], Kirchner's original suggestion, in place of Π̣[ρα]ξι[βούλου] which Kirchner printed in the Corpus. He also observed that the *vacat* of 0.07 m. in line 1 between the left edge of the cymatium and the initial epsilon of Kirchner's text was exactly the space occupied by the first ten preserved letters. A tribal name in the genitive of ten letters was suggested by the sigma preserved before the epsilon of ἔφηβοι and by the beginning of an inscription of Aiantis (No. 6, p. 17),— name of tribe in genitive, ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπί, name of archon in genitive. Either Antiochis (Mitchel's restoration) or Erechtheis could be restored, since the inscription of Kekropis for 334/3 was already known (No. 2, p. 5).

Mitchel's recognition of the names of the generals Konon and Sophilos in lines 5-6 is certain. They are also named together in the archonship of Nikokrates, 333/2, in No. 9, p. 26, Col. II 9-11, from which Roussel (*Rev. Arch.* 18, 1941, 222-226) suggested their restoration in No. 8, p. 21, lines 9-10. Their names appear also in the inscription of Akamantis (No. 7, p. 20, lines 1-7) and in No. 5, p. 16, lines 4-5. Since the two generals now appear together in both 334/3 and 333/2, their joint appearance cannot alone serve as a criterion for dating. The date of 333/2 for No. 8, p. 21 is confirmed by the almost certain restoration in line 11 of the kosmetes' name of that year from No. 9, p. 26 Col. II 12-13. The inscription from Eleusis of the tribe Kekropis (No. 5, p. 16) must also be dated in 333/2 since the inscription of that tribe for 334/3 is extant (No. 2, p. 5).

Konon, son of Timotheos (*RE* 11, 2, 1334, No. 4) was the grandson of the well-known general of the same name and patronymic in the Peloponnesian War and the restorer of the Long Walls. He was a man of considerable wealth and undertook at least six trierarchies and syntrierarchies in the years 343/2-323/2. He is last mentioned in 319/8 (Diod. 18, 64, 5).

Sophilos, son of Aristoteles, Phylasios was associated with Konon as στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι in 334/3 and 333/2. In 333/2 he was awarded a crown (*IG* II² 1496, Col. IV 156-57). In 330/29 he was one of ten epimeletai of an agon at the Amphiaraion in which the epheboi participated. Among the ten epimeletai were such prominent men as Lycurgus, Kephisophon, the archon of 329/8, and Demades, son of Demeas, Paianieus (*IG* VII Addenda 4254, 24-25. [- - -]ς Ζ̣ωφίλου Φυλά(σιος) in the Attic Manumission

Lists (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 226, line 347, *IG* II^2 1554, 72) is perhaps his father.

Previous Editions

Kirchner, *Ath. Mitt.* 52, 1927, 197-99 with a photograph showing the anaglyph, Beilage XXIII. R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, Leipzig, 1872, No. 60, pl. 12 gives a drawing of the anaglyph. Kirchner, *IG* II^2 2970. F. W. Mitchel, *Hesp.* 33, 1964, 349-50 re-edits lines 1-6.

5

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI AND THE SOPHRONISTES OF KEKROPIS

333/2. Archon, Nikokrates.

Announced and briefly described, but not yet published. J. Travlos, Πρακτικά, 1954 (1957), 70-71, with photograph, p. 69; A. K. Orlandos, Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας κατὰ τὸ 1954 (1955), 9-10.

Unfortunately the description of the stone and the exact text of the inscription were not made available for publication here, and we must hopefully wait for the appearance of the official publication.

The stone was found by J. Travlos in 1954 in the excavation of the new temple to the west of the Megala Propylaia in Eleusis. The photograph shows a rectangular stone with a triangular cutting on its upper surface.

What is known about the inscription can be briefly summarized. Except for the first line, which doubtless contained the archon's name, and two names at the end of the inscription, the text is relatively well-preserved. From the mention of the generals Konon and Sophilos who are known to have been associated in 334/3 and 333/2 we may date the inscription in the archonship of Nikokrates, 333/2, since, as has already been mentioned, the inscription of the tribe Kekropis for 334/3, the archonship of Ktesikles, is extant (No. 2, p. 5). The inscription honors by name in the body of the text, the two generals mentioned, the sophronistes, the taxiarch, seven lochagoi and two didaskaloi. The roster of 52 epheboi repeats the names of the taxiarch and the seven lochagoi. There are five citations, Demos, Boule, Phyle, Eleusinioi, Rhamnousioi.

6

(Plate VI)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI AND THE SOPHRONISTES OF AIANTIS TO THE HERO MUNICHOS FOR VICTORY IN THE Λαμπάς.

333/2. Archon, Nikokrates.

Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.* 76, 1961 (1962), 143, No. 2 with photograph, Beilage 75, 1. Kerameikos Inv. I 64.

Found 1959 in a rubbish heap south of the Propylaea of Pompey in the Kerameikos. Fragment of light marble, smooth surfaces on top and sides, broken below. On top, a rectangular inset to receive the dedication, 0.15 m. by 0.16 m., 0.08 m. deep. Rough-picked back. H. 0.17 m., W. 0.325 m., Th. 0.232 m., L.H. 0.01 m. (lines 7-9, 0.007 m.), L. Int. 0.08 (in lines 7-8, 0.05 m., lines 8-9, 0.07 m.).

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Αἰ]αντίδος ἔφηβ[οι οἱ]
ἐπὶ̣ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ̣[ος]
[κ]αὶ σωφρονιστὴς Ἐπιχάρης
Ἐπιγένους Οἰναῖος λαμπάδι
νικήσαντες ἥρωι Μουνίχωι
vacat ἀνέθεσαν *vacat*
Οἰναῖοι *vacat*
[Π]ολυμήδης Πολυφίλου /////
[κα]ὶ Πυθόδωρ[ος Ἀπ]ολλοδώρου
- -

Habicht suggests that, in all likelihood, the hero Munichos to whom the dedication was made, was the eponymous hero of the ἡλικία of epheboi which began its service under Nikokrates in 333/2. It is well known that each of the 42 age-classes of men available for military service was designated by the name of one of a cycle of 42 eponymous heroes or, in the case of the epheboi, by the name of the archon under whom they had registered in their demes at 18 years of age (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 53, 4. 7; Harpokration s.v. στρατεία ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις). Thus the ἡλικία of 333/2, as those of 291/0, 249/8 and so on, would be named by the hero Munichos. The λαμπαδηδρομίαι were a part of many religious festivals in Athens

(and elsewhere), prominently of the Panathenaia, Hephaisteia and Prometheia, in which the end of the race was in the Kerameikos. It was for victory at one of these festivals that the monument was set up by the epheboi of the ἡλικία Μουνίχου.

Tribal inscriptions are dedicated [τοῖν θεοῖν], Demeter and Kore, if Philios' suggestion is correct, in the inscription of Hippothontis set up in Eleusis in 334/3 (No. 3, p. 11); to the hero of Leontis (No. 9. p. 25) in 333/2; and to the hero of the tribe Antiochis or Erechtheis in 334/3, following Mitchel's restoration (No. 4, p. 13)

This is the earliest specific reference to the participation of the epheboi in the religious festivals. Writing in 1956 Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, 177) could only adduce the record of a sacrifice offered by the epheboi to the *Semnai Theai* in 172/1 (*Hesp.* 15, 1946, 198, No. 40, 17) as the first allusion. The participation of the epheboi in lampadedromiai is attested for the Panathenaia (Schol. Plat. *Phaidr.* 231 E); for the Theseia (*IG* II² 956, 64, 161/0); for the Epitaphia (*IG* II² 1011, 10, 106/5); for the Hephaisteia (*IG* II² 3006, *s.* I *p.* ?); and for the Germanikeia (*IG* II² 2024, 132-38, 112/13). They doubtless took part in others not specified as is indicated by καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας ἀπάσας ἔδραμον (*IG* II² 1028, 14) and similar expressions (*IG* II² 1006, 11; 1011, 9) in the inscriptions of the late first century B.C.

Two inscriptions from *post med. s.* IV *a.* concern victors in the torch race, — *IG* II² 3105, in which the gymnasiarchoi honor the athletes of Erechtheis, and *IG* II² 1250, in which the winners of Aiantis honor their gymnasiarch.

Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, 211-256) gives a complete account of the participation of the epheboi in the religious and agonistic activities of the city on information derived from the ephebic inscriptions mainly of the second century B.C. onwards.

Prosopographia

Lines 3-4. The diaitetes Epichares of Oinoe in 325/4 (*IG* II² 1926, 144) whose name is given without patronymic may be the same man as the sophronistes, although Kirchner identifies the diaitetes with Ἐπιχάρης Πλατῶνος Οἰναῖος, whose gravestone carries his name along with his son's and his wife's name and is dated *post med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 6972) and who would then be a possible cousin. A later member of this family, Ἐπιγένης Ἐπιγένου Οἰναῖος, was secretary of the prytaneis in 122/1 (*IG* II² 1004, 1-2 and 1006, 1).

Line 8. Πολύφιλος Πολυμήδος Οἰναῖος, possibly the grandfather of Π.Π.Ο., was one of three epimeletai of the tribe Aiantis in ca. 346/5 (*Hesp.* 5, 1936, 402, No. 10, Col. IV, Face A, 169-70, a part of *IG* II² 1582). The Πολύφιλος Πολυ--- (*IG* II² 2386, 3) in a catalogue of names, *med. s.* IV *a.*, may be the same man.

7

(Plate VII)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI OF AKAMANTIS (?)

334/3 or 333/2. Archons, Ktesikles or Nikokrates.

Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.* 76, 1961 (1962), 147, No. 3. Kerameikos Inv. I 60. Photograph, Beilage, 75, 2.

Found August, 1959 in rubbish south of the Propylaea of Pompey. Fragment of Pentelic marble stele. Margin on right, otherwise broken edges. *Vacat* before each line on the left. H. 0.08 m., W. 0.195 m., Th. 0.127 m., L.H. 0.006 m., L. Int. 0.007 m. Neat script on a thick stele makes it likely that the text was extensive. Free space to the left of the preserved lines, coupled with the absence of a margin suggests an inscription with several columns.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[- - - - - - χρυσῶι στε]-
[φάνωι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τ]-
ῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺ[ς στρα]-
τηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶι Π[ειραι]-
εῖ Κόνωνα Τιμοθ[έου]
Ἀν[α]φλύστιον, στρ[α]-
[τηγὸν ἐ]πὶ τῆι χώραι
[Σώφιλον Ἀρισ]τ̣οτέλ-
[ους Φυλάσιον - - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Habicht suggests the tribe Akamantis from the provenience of the stone in the Kerameikos, a deme of Akamantis and from the fact that the tribal hero Akamas had an altar at the Dipylon Gate (*IG* II^2 4983).

The association of Konon and Sophilos need not necessarily date this inscription in 333/2 as the editor concludes since it is now clear that they were associated too in 334/3. Habicht's restoration of the title and the name of the kosmetes of that year from No. 9, p. 26 Col. II 12-13 must, therefore, be deleted.

8

(Plate VIII)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI AND SOPHRONISTES OF PANDIONIS WITH ROSTER

333/2. Archon, Nikokrates.

B.D. Meritt, *AJP* 66, 1945, 234-39, a re-edition of *IG* II² 2976. *EM* 3590.

Fragment of Pentelic stele, broken on all sides except the bottom. H. 0.22 m., W. 0.19 m., Th. 0.07., L. H. 0.005 m., L. Int. 0.01 m. Find place unknown.

	Col. I	Col. II
NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.	(lost)	- - - - - - - - - -
		[- - - - - - - - -]ου
		[- - - - - - - - - -]δου
		[- - - - - - - -]ίδου
		[- - - - - - -]οφῶντος
		[- - - - - -] Λυσίου

two lines uninscribed

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 53 [ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Πανδι]-
ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρο-
[νιστὴς ἀνέθησαν στεφανωθέντες χρυσῶι στ]εφ[άν]-
ωι [ὑπὸ τῆ]ς φυ[λῆς]
[ἀρετῆς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν καὶ σωφροσύν]ης ἕνεκ̣α *vacat*
[στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι Σώφιλον Ἀριστ]οτέλους
[Φυλάσ]ιον *vacat*
[στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιεῖ Κόνωνα] Τ̣ιμοθέου
[Ἀναφλ]ύστιον *vacat*
[κοσμητὴν . . . .8. . . . Αἰνησιστρά]του Ἀχαρνέα v
[Μν]ῆσον Ἀρίστω[νος]
[demotic ca. 9, name ca. 9, patronymic ca. 9
Π]αιανιέα, [Χ]α[ρί]αν Ἀρχέωνος
[demotic ca. 10, name ca. 10, patronymic ca. 8]
ους Μυρρινούσιον *vacat*
[λοχαγὸν name ca. 9, patronymic ca. 10 Παι]-
ανιέα, λοχαγὸν Εὐκλεία *vacat*

[patronymic ca. 12, demotic ca. 12 λοχαγ]ὸν Αἰσχύλον Πυθέου Παιαν[ιέα],
[λοχαγὸν name ca. 11, patronymic ca. 11] Ὤαθεν, λοχαγὸν Ἐτεοκλέα *v* [*vvv*]
[patronymic ca. 12, demotic ca 12, λοχαγ]ὸν Φανόστρατον Φανίου *vv* [*vvv*]
[demotic ca. 8, λοχαγὸν name ca. 9, . . ca. 5 . . .]γίτου Παιανιέα. *vacat*

vacat

On the assumption, l.c. p. 238, that "The official who must be associated with the sophronistes is of course the taxiarch . . .," Meritt read line 6,

[ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος ὁ ταξίαρχος τῆς Πανδι]ονίδος καὶ ὁ σωφ[ρονισ]

Since Meritt's publication it has been shown that the taxiarch, like the lochagos, was an ephebic cadet-officer (Mitchel, *TAPA* 92, 1961, 347-57) whose title would not normally precede that of the sophronistes. There is no compelling reason for the association of the taxiarch and sophronistes in ephebic inscriptions. They were uniquely associated in the prescript of No. 9, p. 25 because of the father-son relationship which existed in that case. The epheboi, not the taxiarch are normally associated with the sophronistes in the tribal inscriptions (No. 3, p. 11 line 1; No. 5, p. 16 line 2; No. 2, p. 5 lines 29-31; cf. Mitchel, l.c. p. 351, note 9). A close reading of the preserved text indicates that the usual formula occurs here. In his original publication Kirchner dotted the epsilon which he read before phi (line 7) and read nothing after phi. In the text of the Corpus the dot was accidentally transferred to the phi which is clearly readable. The traces of the letter are closer to a sigma than an epsilon. Meritt read the letter after phi as an undotted eta, but the lower vertical stroke with finial base and the upper left oblique stroke of the cleft of upsilon are visible on the squeeze and indicate the reading, [ὑπὸ τῆ]ς φυ[λῆς].

The names of the epheboi with patronymics are arranged in two columns above the body of the text as in No. 2, p. 5 and presumably as there were grouped by demes. Meritt pointed out that at a later date the profile of a human head was sketched over the inscription while the stone was in an inverted position. The hair, extending to the bottom of the stone, the eye, and the nose, whose

tip rests in line 7, can clearly be seen in Kirchner's photograph. The outline of the chin, neck and shoulders for a bust sketch continued on the same scale would roughly yield space for 19-20 lines above the lower edge of the uninscribed lines. This would provide space for a prescript of one line and for a total of 30-32 names with deme captions, but hardly for a decree in addition. The number of lochagoi in extant ephebic rosters stands in no uniform proportion to the number of epheboi and no conclusions as to the probable number of epheboi can be drawn from their comparative numbers (No. 5, p. 16, 7 lochagoi, 45 epheboi; No. 9, p. 26, Col. II 16-22, 5 lochagoi, estimate of 44 epheboi; No. 10, p. 34, lines 3-7, 5 lochagoi, estimate of 55 epheboi; No. 12, p. 42, lines 70-79; 5 lochagoi, estimate of 56 epheboi; No. 14, p. 56, lines 6-15, 10 lochagoi for an unknown number of epheboi; No. 15, p. 58, lines 1-5, 12 lochagoi, 62 epheboi.

Meritt determined the line length at ca. 53 letters from lines 9-11 and estimated the original width of the stele as a little more than 0.36 m.

His restoration of the title and name of the kosmetes in line 11 from the letters preserved here and from No. 9, p. 26, Col. II 12-13 definitely dates the text in 333/2. A gap of eight letters for the name is the space left for it in No. 9 which follows the stoichedon order.

The four names following in lines 11-13 without title are almost certainly the names of the four didaskaloi of the tribe. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42) states that the Demos elected an indefinite number of didaskaloi to teach four branches of warfare, hoplomachy, archery, javelin throwing and the launching of catapults. From the fact that in the same year only two instructors are named for the tribe Leontis (No. 9, p. 26, Col. I 33-36) and four (almost certainly not including the two men named for Leontis) for Pandionis, it would seem that the instructors of the special branches were not the same individuals as the didaskaloi for the tribes. The number for each tribe varied. Two are named for a year ca. 330/29 (No. 10, p. 34, lines 6-7) and two in the inscription of Kekropis from Eleusis (No. 5, p. 16, lines 10-11). In the inscription from Oropos (No. 15, p. 59, Left Side, Col. II 6-11) the name of one is cited within a wreath. The instructors found in the tribal inscriptions were not necessarily citizens: among those of the fourth century B.C. one was from Methone (No. 9, p. 26, Col. I 36-37) another from Syracuse (No. 5, p. 16 line 11). Foreign instructors are well-attested in

the inscriptions of later periods. Athenians did not draw national lines in choosing men to instruct the epheboi.

In line 14 the name is derived from Εὐκλέης (cf. *Hesp.* 30, 1961, p. 33, line 290, dated 336/5 and *IG* II² 2820, 15, dated 360-350 B.C.). The accusative should perhaps be written Εὐκλέα (Kühner's *Ausführl. Grammatik*³, Hannover, 1890, p. 430).

Prosopographia

Line 10. A Μνῆσος Μνησιφίλου appears in a catalogue of phrateres, *init. s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 2344, 9 and a [Θε]όφιλος Ἀρίστωνος in a catalogue of Pandionis, *ante med. s.* IV *a.*, *IG* II² 2370, 3.

Line 11. It is very likely that a relative of [Χ]α[ρί]αν Ἀρχέωνος was [Χ]αρίας Εὐθυ[κράτους] [Κ]υδαθηναιεύς, trierarch in 328/7, *IG* II² 1628 a, 54, a contemporary of Konon Anaphlystios, the general, and associated with him in the trierarchy, here as one of his syntrierarchs and again in 325/4 (*IG* II² 1629 c. 700/01. Charias of Kydathenaion acted as syntrierarch again in 323/2 (*IG* II² 1632 a, 58). Other members of the family also carried the burden of a trierarchy in this period (*IG* II² 1629 a, 49. 96. 150; c, 511; 1631 d, 644). Stemma under *PA* 5604.

Line 14. Αἰσχύλος Πυθέου Π. A man of this name set up a votive monument, *fin. s.* V, Raubitschek, *Dedications*, 153, No. 137. An ephebos, A. Χαρῆτος Π. was one of the dedicants to Hermes in 111/10 (*IG* II² 2983, 6).

Line 16. The name Φανόστρατος of Paiania is listed among the tribesmen of Pandionis in 313/2 (*IG* II² 2762, 5-6) and the patronymic Φα̣ν̣ίου Παιανιεύς occurs as the proposer of an ephebic decree in 159/8 (*IG* II² 1027, 17). Phanostratos, son of Phanias, is very likely of the deme of Paiania. The deme affiliation of the archon Phanostratos in 383/2 (*IG* II² 1930, 2) is unknown.

Previous Editions

Kirchner, *Ath. Mitt.* 52, 1927, 198-99 with photograph, Beilage XXIII, 2; Kirchner, *IG* II² 2976; Meritt, *AJP* 66, 1945, 234-39.

Literature

P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.* 18, 1941, 222-26; Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, 123-24.

9

(Plate IX and X)

ANATHEMA OF THE SOPHRONISTES AND THE EPHEBOI OF LEONTIS TO THE HERO (SC. LEOS)

333/2. Archon, Nikokrates.

B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 9, 1940, 59-66, No. 8, Agora Inv. No. 3068, Fragment *a*; 3068 c, Fragment *b*; 3068 b, Fragment *c*. With photograph.

Base of Hymettian marble, the upper surface of which shows a rectangular cutting ca. 0.20 m. wide and 0.10 m. deep to receive the dedication. Fragment *a* consists of many joined pieces which when united yield (exept for the right side) the unbroken outlines of the stone, H. 0.63 m., W. 0.57 m., Th. 0.345 m. Fgts. *b* and *c* are from the upper right half of the stone but have no point of contact either with fgt. *a* or with each other. Fgt. *b* is broken on all sides but the top which retains part of the same cutting that is preserved on *a*. Fgt. *c* is the upper right corner of the base. Fgt. *b*, H. 0.13 m., W. 0.18 m., Th. 0.082 m. Fgt. *c*, H. 0.25 m., W. 0.13 m., Th. 0.11 m. L. H. 0.01 m. in lines 1-2 and 39; in the other lines, 0.006 m.; L. Int. is irregular, 0.009-0.011 m. Found 1935 and 1936 in Agora Section Σ, Grid NP/7-12.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 72

[τῶι ἥ]ρωι ὁ σ̣[ω]φρονιστ[ὴς τῆς Λεωντίδος ἐπὶ]
N[ι]κ[οκράτους καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι] σ[τεφανωθέντ]ε̣[ς *v* *v*]
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου καὶ τῆς φυλ]ῆ̣ς
ἀρετῆς ἕνε[κα καὶ σωφρο]σύνης *vacat*

(Col. I)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Λευκονο[εὺς]
εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Φιλόθεος ὁ σωφ[ρον]-
ιστὴς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς τ[ῶν ἐ]-
φήβων ἀπαγγέλλει περὶ τῶν ν[εαν]-
ίσκων καί φησιν εἶναι εὐτα[κτο͂ν]-
τας καὶ πειθομένος τοῖς τ[ε νόμο]-
ις καὶ ἑαυτῶι, δεδόχθαι τ[ῆι Λεω]ν-
τίδι ἐπαινέσαι τὴν Λεωντίδα φυ-
λὴν τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν ἐπὶ Νικοκράτ-
ους ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρ-
υσῶι στεφάνωι ἕκα[στ]ον αὐτῶν ἀρ-
ετῆς ἕνεκα, ἐπαιν[έσ]αι δὲ καὶ τὸν
σωφρονιστὴν Φι[λόθ]εον Φιλοκλέ-

ους Σουνιᾶ καὶ σ[τε]φανῶσαι χρυσ-
ῶι στεφάνωι ἀπ̣[ὸ χι]λίων δραχμῶν
ἐπειδὰν τὰς ε[ὐθύ]νας δῶι ἀρετῆς
ἕνεκα τῆς ε̣[ἰς τὴν] φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς
ἐφήβους, [ἐπαιν]ε̣σαι δὲ καὶ τον τα-
ξίαρχον̣ [τῆς φ]υλῆς Φιλοκλέα Φ[ιλ-
οθέου Σ[ουνι]ᾶ καὶ τοὺς λοχαγο[ὺς]
Πανδαί[την Π]ασικλέος Ποτάμ[ιον]
Ἐπικρά[την] Πεισιάνακτος Σ[ουνι]-
ᾶ Καλλ[ιχάρ]ην Καλλιφάνος [Σουνι]-
ᾶ Νικό[ξεν]ον Νικοκλέος Χ[ολληίδ]-
ην Τι[μοκρ]άτην Τιμοκλέος Π̣[οτάμ]-
ιον κ[αὶ στ]εφανῶσαι χρυσῶι [στεφ]-
άν[ωι ἕκα]στον αὐτῶν ἀπο πεν[τακο]-
[σίων δρα]χμῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ σω[φροσ]-
[ύνης ἕνε]κα, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς [κα]ὶ
[ἀνάθημα] ἀναθεῖναι [ἐν] τῶι ἱε[ρ]ῶι
[τοῦ ἥρω, ἐ]παινέσαι [δὲ καὶ] τὸς [δ]ιδ-
[ασκάλου]ς τῆς φυλῆ[ς . . .⁶. . .]την Α-
[. . .⁷. . . .]υ Παλλην[έα . . .⁷. . . .]ν Ἀρ-
[. .]αινέ[ο] Μεθων[αῖον καὶ στεφ]ανῶ-
[σαι] θα̣λ̣[λο]ῦ στ[εφάνωι ὅτι καλ]ῶς [ἐ]-
[π]ε̣μεληθ̣ησαν τ[ῶν ἐφ]ή[βων] *vacat*

(Col. II)

[ἀναγράψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τῆ]-
[ς φυλῆς τὸν γρ]αμματέα τῆς φυ̣[λῆς]
[καὶ στῆσαι ἐν] τῶι ἱερῶι, τὸ [δ' ἀνάλ]-
[ωμα εἰς τὴν γρα]φὴν δοῦνα[ι τοὺς ἐ]-
[πιμελητὰς τῆς φ]υλῆς, ἀ[ναγράψαι]
[δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τ]ὸ̣ [ἀν]άθ[ημα *v v v*]
[στ]ρα[τ]η[γὸς ἐπὶ] τῶι Περαι[εῖ Κόνω]-
ν Τιμοθέο Ἀναφλύστιος [στρατηγ]-
ὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώραι Σώφιλ[ος Ἀριστο]-
τέλος Φυλάσιος κοσμη[τής . .⁵. . .]
[. . .] Αἰνησιστράτου Ἀχ̣[αρνεὺς σω]-
[φρονι]στὴς [Φιλόθ]εο[ς Φιλοκλέου]
[ς Σουνι]εὺ[ς ταξίαρχος Φιλοκλέη]-
[ς Φιλ]οθέου [Σουνιεὺς λοχαγοὶ Πα]-
[ν]δαίτης Πα̣[σικλέος Ποτάμιος Ἐπ]-

[ι]κ̣ράτης Πε̣[ισιάνακτος Σουνιεύ]-
ς Καλλιχάρ[ης Καλλιφάνους Σουν]-
[ι]εὺς Νι[κ]ό[ξενος Νικοκλέους Χολ]-
[λ]ηίδης Τι[μοκράτης Τιμοκλέος Π]-
[ο]τάμιος [ἔφηβοι· . . . . . . ^{13}. . . . . . .]
[. .]ης Σω - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[. .]υγε - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[.]ΝΙ -]
[.] Ι Η - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[. .]Ρ̣ -]
έης Κ̣ι̣-]
οδώρου Πρε[σ]βυ[χάρης. . . .^{9}. . . . .]
υς Σαννείδης [. . .^{7}. . . . Ποτάμιοι]
καθύπερθεν [. . . . .^{16}. . . . .]
Ποτάμιοι ὑπέ[νε]ρθ[εν . . . .^{9}. . . . .]
γ̣ Φιλίνου ⁝ Λευκονο[εῖς Κηδείδης]
Θρασυμήδος Χαιρε[. . . . .^{11}. . . . . .]
δο Θαρσύνων Σατύρο[υ . . . .^{9}. . . . .]
Εὐτελίδης Μενεστρά[του . . .^{6}. . .]
Νικήρατος Νικοδήμο[υ . . . .^{8}. . . .]
Εὐαίων Πείθω[ν]ος Θεάγ[γελος . . .]

vacat 0.075 m.

[ἡ βο]υλή ὁ δῆμος ἡ φυλή

(Col. III)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34 [. . . . .^{11}. . . . . .]ροθεο[. . . .^{9}. . . . .] Ἀθηνο[. . . .]
[. . . . .^{11}. . . . . .]εσίδη[ς . . . .^{8}. . . .]δοτος [. . . .]
[. . . . . .^{12}. . . . . .]ς Ν̣ι̣[. . .^{7}. . . . Παι]ονίδαι :[. . .]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]έας Μνησι [.]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Σμι]κύθου Αἰσ[.]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ος Ἀμειψία(ς)
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]κησίας Νι[.]
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42 [. . .^{7}. . . . ἔδοξεν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς τῆς Λεω]ντίδος, Παν[δα]-
[ίτης Πασικλέος Ποτάμιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδ]ὴ Φιλόθεος [ὁ σ]-
[ωφρονιστὴς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς δικα]ίως ἐπιμεμέ[λ]-
[ηται τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸ]ν παρέσχηκε[ν]
[τῶι τε ταξιάρχωι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐπ]αινέσαι Φιλ[ό]-

[θεον Φιλοκλέους Σουνιᾶ καὶ στεφανῶσ]ạι αὐτὸν χρ[υσ]-
[ῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς] ἕνεκα ḳαὶ [σω]-
[φροσύνης τῆς εἰς τὴν φυλήν, ἀναγράψαι δ]ὲ τόδε τὸ ψ[ήφ]-
[ισμα εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα ὃ οἱ ἔ]φηβοι τῷι ἥ[ρωι ἀνατι-θέασι.]

vacat 0. 075 m.

[οἱ ἔφηβοι] [οἱ λοχαγοί]

The main body of the inscription below lines 1-2 is arranged in three columns.

Col. I — II 9. Decree of Leontis, lines 3-38. Praise of epheboi and award of gold crown of unspecified value to each of them, Col. I 10-14. Praise of sophronistes and award of a crown of 1000 drachmai value after his accounts have been audited, Col. I 14-20. Praise of taxiarch and five lochagoi who are awarded crowns of 500 drachmai value, Col. I 20-31. Permission to set up the anathema in the shrine of the hero, Col. I 31-33. Praise of two didaskaloi, one of them a non-Athenian, with award of a crown of thallos, Col. I 33-38.

Col. II 9 — Col. III 9. Roster of Officials and epheboi. Strategos of the Piraeus, strategos of the countryside, kosmetes, sophronistes, taxiarch, lochagoi (names with patronymics and demotics repeated from decree, Col. I 23-27), epheboi (deme names precede names of epheboi with patronymics in the running line), Col. II 22 — III 10.

Col. III 10-19. Decree of the lochagoi, praising the sophronistes and awarding him a crown of 1000 drachmai. The fact that the proposer is the lochagos Pandaites Potamios who is named first in both enumerations of lochagoi supports Meritt's interpretation against my suggestion of a decree by the tribe (*Hesp.* 24, 1955, 226) which as Pélékidis pointed out (*Éphébie*, p. 125, note 4) would duplicate the decree in Col. I 3 — Col. II 9. He suggests a decree of the epheboi. But ἐφήβοις would then have to be read in Col. III 14 where it cannot be fitted in.

The proportionate spacing of the three preserved citations indicates that there were originally five.

Line 1. The insertion of the taxiarch here against the usual

practise (see pp. 29-30) rests on the reading of a sigma before the sigma of the word which Meritt restored σ[τεφανωθέντ]ε̣[ς]. I cannot find justification for this sigma. The place where the slightly oblique lower stroke should be in line 1 immediately above the eta of [σωφρο]σύνης in line 2 appears only as the rough edge of Fragment b on two squeezes. What might be mistaken for this stroke on the photograph (*Hesp.* 9, 1940, p. 61) will be seen to be below the line. To accomodate the restoration ταχίαρχος Meritt restores the archon's name N[ι]κ[οκράτος]. There is abundant justification for the spelling ο for ου (e.g. Col. I 8, 23, 26, 27, 33; Col. II 10, 34) although in the only occurrence of the archon's name elsewhere in this text (Col. I 10-11) it is spelled in the genitive Νικοκράτους and compare Col. I 15-16, 21-22; Col. II 16 for spelling genitives with the usual ου. Either spelling is, therefore, possible in a restoration. The first two lines are in stoichedon order, but Meritt rightly observes that the letters are not spaced with perfect regularity. Indeed both the photograph and the squeezes clearly show that the first kappa in N[ι]κ[οκράτους] has moved to the right to occupy almost one-half of the next succeeding letter space. I should suggest that succeeding letters were so spaced as to absorb the remainder of this letter space, that the genitive of the archon's name was written with ου and that the usual association of the epheboi and the sophronistes occurred here.

Col. I 34-38. On the didaskaloi, see p. 23.

Col. II 7. The epimeletai of the tribe were a college of three, one for each trittys (Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 374). They had wide competence including the payment for sacrifices and for setting up honorary decrees (*RE* 6, 169; cf. *Hesp.* 5, 1936, 402, No. 10, lines 167-70).

Prosopographia

Col. I 15. The sophronistes and the taxiarch were father and son. The son, Philokles, son of Philotheos Sounieus, had Philia as wife and Philylla as daughter (*IG* II² 4025, *post med. s.* IV *a.*). A Philokles of Leontis was a casualty ca. 413/12 (*Hesp.* 12, 1943, p. 46, No. 8, Fgt. L, line 63).

I 23. Pandaites, son of Pasikles is named in a dedication on the akropolis (*IG* II² 3829, 3-4, *med. s.* IV *a.*).

I 24. Epikrates, son of Peisianax was one of the men chosen to

provide for the *lectisternium* of Pluto (*IG* II ^{2} 1933, 5, dated ca. 330-320 B.C.)

I 26. The Nikoxenos, son of Nikokles of Cholleidai who appears as secretary in the prescript of a decree dated *ante* 353/2 (*IG* II^2 159) was perhaps the grandfather of the lochagos, although Meritt (l. c., p. 65) deems it not unlikely from the poorly preserved beginning of the decree below the prescript that he was the lochagos himself. The name Nikokles, son of Demetrios, Cholleides, on a sepulchral monument (*IG* II^2 7804) and Nikokles of Leontis, a casualty in a naval battle (*IG* I^2 950, 157, 412/11 ?), probably represent members of the same family.

I 27. Timokrates, son of Timokles, but without the demotic appears on a grave monument dated *s. II a.* (*IG* II^2 12796).

I 34. [Λεωκρά]την may be suggested as a restoration from *IG* II^2 1669, 3, *post med. s.* IV *a.*, Λε[ωχ]άρους τοῦ Λε[ωκ]ράτ[ου]ς Παλ-λ(ηνεύς).

II 29. As Meritt surmises (l.c., p. 66) Presbychares may be a relative of Presbychares, son of Aristion of the deme Halimous, in the Leontid list of prytanies dated *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 1742, 11-12) whose son's name appears on a sepulchral monument *post med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 5533, 1). If that is correct, not only would Sanneides be a Halimousian, as he observes, but at least the two preceding epheboi also, since the beginning of the patronymic which ends οδώρου (line 29) and the name of the ephebos which goes with it as well as the name which ends έης with the patronymic Κι̣ --- would fill the 21 letter spaces available in line 28 and the demotic Halimousioi could appear first in line 27.

II 30. Σαν[---], a Leontid casualty ca. 413/12 may be related (*Hesp.* 12, 1943, p. 45, No. 8, line 54 in Fragment L).

II 33. Meritt restores [Κηδείδης] as the son of Thrasymedes from the Attic Manumission Lists (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 214, line 219, *IG* II^2 1554, 38-39, *post* 320/19) where Thrasymedes is son and Kydeides the father. To date the name Kydeides is uniquely associated with the deme Leukonoe and its occurrence on a black-figured plaque (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1953-54, Part I, p. 204, No. 8, ca. 500 B.C.) and as the name of a choregic didaskalos (*IG* I^2 770, *fin. s.* V *a.*) may represent early members of the same deme and family. A Philinus of Leontis is listed as a casualty (*Hesp.* 12, 1943, 46, No. 8, Fragment L, 12) and another Philinus of the same tribe in 409/8,

([Κολλ]ῖν[ο]ς in *IG* I² 964, 109, which Meritt corrects to [Φι]λῖν[ο]ς in *Hesp*. 7, 1938, 89, No. 10, Col. VI line 240).

II 35. A Σάτυρος Λευκονεύς was an assistant secretary of the Hellenotamiai in 443/2 and 442/1 (*IG* I² 202, 36; 203, 2). The Leontid casualty of that name (*Hesp*. 12, 1943, 46, No. 8, Fragment L, 40), the orator of a decree in 362/1 (*IG* II² 110, 6) and the epimeletes of the dockyards in Dem. 22, 63 may be related. The nine letter spaces preceding the name which begins in line 36 are too few for a name and a patronymic and must have held a deme name. Aithalidai, Eupyridai, Hekaleieis, Phrearrioi and Cholleidai are possibilities. Paionidai is excluded by its occurrence in Col. III 5.

II 36. A deme name must occur in the six letter spaces here. Nikerates, son of Nikodemos, was of the deme Oion or Hybada.

II 37. The eight letters at the end of the line and immediately preceding the name in line 38 very likely named a deme, Σουνιεῖς or Κρωπίδαι.

III 7. An ephebos of Kettos, Σμίκυθος Ξενοκλέους, appears in the ephebic register of Leontis, 324/23 (No. 15, p. 59 Col. I line 38).

III 9-10. [Νι]κησίας Νι[κοδώρου] is a plausible restoration from the name of the victorious hippeus of Leontis in the Panathenaia, ca. 166/5, Νικόδωρος Νικησίου (*IG* II² 2316, 37) and the same man, victor in the diaulos in 161/0 (*IG* II² 956, Col. II 85-6).

An estimate of the number of epheboi can be made.

Col. II 22-27. Four and one-half lines which can be roughly estimated to have contained some 7-8 names, a larger proportion than in lines 28-38 because of the longer deme names of the two Potamoi in that section, and some four deme names.

Col. II 28-38. In line 28, ca. eight letters to complete the patronymic beginning Κ̣ι̣, name and the beginning of the patronymic ending -οδώρου in line 29, two epheboi; line 29, Presbychares with nine letters of patronymic ending in -υς, line 30, three epheboi; line 30, seven letters for patronymic of Sanneides, four; line 31, sixteen letters for name and patronymic of one ephebos from Upper Potamios, five; line 32, nine letters for name of one ephebos from Lower Potamios ending in -ν̣ with patronymic Φιλίνου, six; lines 34-35, three epheboi from Leukonoe, nine; line 35, nine letters for deme name; line 36, ten and demotic of six letters; line 37, eleven and demotic of eight letters; line 38, twelve and thirteen epheboi.

The nine, six and eight letter spaces available respectively in

lines 35, 36 and 37 must contain either a name and a patronymic, or a demotic. One would be hard put to find names and patronymics short enough to be accomodated in the available spaces and consequently demotics must be presumed to have occurred here. In reckoning letter spaces available, the possibility of a genitive ending in omicron in place of ου must not be excluded. The variant use by the stone cutter of omicron and ου in genitives was pointed out in connection with Meritt's restoration of Ν[ι]κ[οκράτος] in line 1 and here attention may be drawn to -δο at the beginning of line 35. Hence the restorations in lines 35-37 could be affected. The shortened form in omicron, e.g. in line 37, which would make the restoration of Χολλεῖδαι possible, receives some support from the fact that the name Theangelos occurs as councillor of Leontis from this deme in a text of 336/5 (*SEG* 19, 149) and that Εὐάνγελος Θεανγέλου Χολλε(ίδης) appears in the Attic Manumission Lists (*Hesp*. 28, 1959, p. 221, Face B, Col. I 8, *IG* II² 1556, 33) which Lewis dates ca. 330-320 B.C. Some slight additional support is the occurrence of an ephebos, [Πειθ]όδημος Πείθωνος Χολλε(ίδης), several centuries later (*IG* II² 1043, Col. I 96, 38/7) possibly related to Εὐαίων Πείθω[ν]ος in line 38.

Col. III 3-9. These lines of 34 letter spaces have remains of 14 names and patronymics and one demotic, — 69 letter spaces accounted for from a total of 228 (7 x 34) which should contain no more than 15-17 epheboi and ca. six demotics. That is a total of 38 epheboi at most for the entire roster. To this must be added five lochagoi and the ephebic taxiarch for a grand total of 44 epheboi from Leontis in 333/2. The names of the taxiarch and the lochagoi were apparently not repeated in the roster. Neither name of the two lochagoi from Potamos fits into the available space for the one ephebos from Upper Potamos in Col. II 31 nor do the nu of the name and the patronymic Φιλίνου, of the one ephebos from Lower Potamos in Col. II 33 correspond with either of their names. Roussel (*Rev. Arch.* 18, 1941, II p. 225 and note 3) estimated 35 epheboi, but this is too low.

In the inscription of Leontis from Oropos (No. 15, p. 58) which I date 324/3, there are 62 epheboi listed. Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, 146. 284-87) accounts for the disproportionate difference in the numbers of epheboi from Leontis from the same period by the fact that one group represented the epheboi of a normal, the other of a hollow year.

Literature

P. Roussel, *Rev.Arch.* 18, 1941, 222-26; Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, 124-27 and passim; Mitchel, *TAPA* 92, 1961, 347-57; W. K. Pritchett, *AJA* 56, 1952, 163.

10

(Plate XI)

HONORS VOTED TO THE EPHEBOI OF PANDIONIS, THEIR CADET OFFICERS AND STAFF

332/1 (?). Archon, Niketes.

J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse*, 107, No. 2. Pl. 44, 3. *EM* 4211.

Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble. Broken on all sides except the right where the surface in the upper part is chipped away. Entire surface is friable and flaky. H. 0.41 m., W. 0.395 m., Th. 0.09 m., L. H. 0.005-0.007 m., L. Int. 0.004 m. Find place is very likely Rhamnous, although Sounion is given as an alternative in the Museum catalogue.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 43

[. . . ΙΛΛ. ΡΟ . . . . ^{20}. . . . . ΦΗΜ . . . . . ^{11}
. . . . . .
[. . ΚΛΓΛΙΟΓΛΙ. . . . . ^{10}. . . . . Ἀν]τικλείδη[ν]
Ἀντικλέο[υς]
[λο]χαγὸν Κλεαίνε[τον. . . . .]δ̣ρου Κυδ̣αθ[η]ν̣α̣ιέα
λοχ[αγὸ]-
[ν. . . . ^{8}. . . .]γ̣ην Διοφῶν[τος Π]ρασ̣ιέ̣α̣ λοχαγὸν
Ἡ̣γε̣[. . ^{5}. . .]
[. . . . ^{9}. . . . .]τ̣ωνος Κυ[δ]α[θ]ην[αι]έα λο[χ]αγ[ὸ]ν
Σάτυρον Ἐ[. . .]
[. . . ^{6}. . . Παι]ανιέα λοχαγὸν [. . .]φιλο̣ν [Σω]κ̣ρά̣τους
Κυ̣[δαθ]-
[ηναιέα δι]δασκάλο[υς Κάλ]λα̣ισ[χρ]ον Καλλίου Παια-
νιέ[α]
[. . . . ^{8}. . . .]ητων Φιλοκρά[τ]η[ν Σ]ω̣στρ[ά]το[υ]
Φρεάρριον [. . .]

vacat 0.035 m.

[ἡ βου]λ̣ὴ	Ῥαμνού-	Ἐλευσί-	Φυλάσι-
[ὁ δῆ]μος	σιοι	νιοι	οι

vacat 0.085 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I.	Col. II	Col. III
[Πρασ]ι̣εις *vacat*	-------	[Κυδ]αθηναιεῖς
[- -]Α̣ΙΟ[. .]ΛΗ̣[. . .]Σ	-------	Ἀ̣[ρ]κέδημ[ο]ς
		Εὐξένο̣[υ]

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
[- -]Γ¯Ο - - - - - -	- - - - - - -	Ἰσόδημος Ἰσιφίλ̣[ου]
[- -]Φιλισ̣τ̣ί̣ων̣ο̣ς	ΛΗ̣Ν̣ - - - -	Ἀντιχάρης Ἀντικλέο[ς]
[- -]ος Ζ̣ω̣π̣ύ̣ρ̣ο̣υ̣	- - - - ω̣ν̣ο̣ς-	[. . ⁵ . . .]οτης Αἰνησίου
[- -]ω̣ρ Θ̣ε̣οφ̣ά̣ντο̣υ̣	Ἀ̣ντ̣ - - - -	[Ἡ]γησ̣[ι]κλῆς Φιλέου
[- -]ς Δημητρίου	Ἀ̣Ν̣Τ̣Ι̣Σ̣- - -	[. .]ΙΑ - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - -	ΛΑΚΡ̣ - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - -	Α̣Ι̣Ν̣ - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - -

The lost heading was perhaps similar to the other tribal inscriptions. One can only conjecture that one or two of the honorary decrees passed by the four bodies named in lines 9-10 were inscribed on the stone. It is unlikely that all were. The names of the epheboi with patronymics under demotics appear in three columns below the names of the four honoring corporations,—the Boule and the Demos, Rhamnousioi, Eleusinioi and Phylasioi, the last three representing the demes in which fortresses were located at which they were stationed. While on guard duty they doubtless participated. in the games and religious festivals, as Pouilloux suggests, connected with the worship of Nemesis in Rhamnous, the Great Goddesses, Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and of Artemis Agrotera and Pan at Phyle (l.c., p. 110, note 1).

A stoichedon line of 43 letters is indicated by the restoration of line 3 where Peek's restoration of the patronymic, [Μενάν]δ̣ρου is almost certainly correct. In editing the text I have collated the transcription which I made from the stone in Athens in 1951 with the readings of Peek and Pouilloux. The differences in reading of the several editors is to be explained by the poor condition of the surface of the stone which makes certainty difficult.

If Antikleides, son of Antikles (line 2), in spite of the absence of the demotic is the taxiarch or one of the lochagoi, as the position of the name in the text would indicate, one should expect his name to appear among the first of the names under Kydathenaieis in Col. III, especially if Antichares, son of Antikles (Col. III 14) was his brother. The absence of his name here would mean

that the names of the cadet officers were not repeated in the roster. It is, of course, possible that he was not an ephebos.

With three columns of names the extant stone would yield space for 30-33 names and demotics. If eight of the ca. ten demes of Pandionis were represented, 22-25 epheboi might have been listed which with the inclusion of the taxiarch and five lochagoi would give a total of 28-31 epeboi for Pandionis in this year.

Peek reads the beginning of line 4 [γὸν...^{6}...]ενη̣ν̣. But the first dotted nu is under the first epsilon of Κλεαίνε[τον] which makes his count of 20 letters for the beginning of this line too long by ten letters. Line 4, for the deme name Peek reads 'Ι̣κ̣α̣ρ̣ι̣ε̣[α]; Peek, [Ἡ]γε̣, Pouilloux, Ἡγη; line 5, Pouilloux,]τονος; for Σάτυρον 'Ε, Peek, Γ̣λ<α>ῦκ[ο]υ̣ Νε..; lines 6-7, Peek, Κυ̣δ̣[α|ντί̣δην]; line 7, *init.* Peek, γυμ]ν̣ασίαρχο̣[ν, Pouilloux, δι]δάσκαλο[ν; line 8, Peek, [...^{6}... λοχ]α̣γῶν, Pouilloux,]ι̣κ̣ων. For my reading, [....^{8}....]ητων, the tau, partcularly of [Σω]κ̣ρα̣τους, line 6, offers confirmation. Col. I 14, Peek, Ρ̣ΙΚ̣ — ΩΝ̣Ο̣Σ̣; Col. I 15, Pouilloux, ος 'Ελ̣εο|; Col. I 16, Pouilloux, ωρ Θεοφάνου; Col. II 14, Peek, Λο̣χ, Pouilloux, nothing; Col. II, 15. 16 and 17, Peek and Pouilloux read nothing; Col. II 18, Peek, Λ̣ακ, Pouilloux, ⁄ ╲ |; Col. II 19, Peek, 'Ον, Pouilloux, |Τ|; Col. II 20, Peek, nothing, Pouilloux, 'Αλκι Col. II 21, Pouilloux, ╲ Ⲅ, Peek nothing; Col. III 12, Pouilloux, [...]εδημ[ο]ς; Col. III 13, Peek, |Σ|ΧΙΤ̣--, Pouilloux, 'Ισι[---; Col. III 16, Peek, [Ἡ]γησ̣<ι>κλέ[η]ς Φ̣ιλέου̣, Pouilloux, Σιλέου; Col. III 18, Pouilloux, Ο|Λ

The reading at the beginning of line 8, [....^{8}....]ητων, Peek, [......λοχ]α̣γῶν, Pouilloux,]ι̣κ̣ων without indication of the number of letters before it, is a vexing crux. A name cannot be read here. Any interpretation must take into account that the Phrearrian is not of the tribe of Pandionis and not an ephebos. The title of an official seems called for. Peek has not explained his reading. Pouilloux is inclined to reject ἐφ]βήων even if some explanation could be offered for it and to retain the more certain reading]ι̣κων. Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, p. 151) suggests ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφ]ήβων and gives as parallel the title found within a crown in a puzzling inscription from Rhamnous (Pouilloux, *La Forteresse*, 112, No. 3 II ἡ βουλὴ| ὁ δ[ημο]ς | ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους | γενόμενον. This explanation might do if it were not for the fact that the tau in my reading]ητων appears to me as certain as any reading on this stone can be and the perplexing fact that the reading of line 7 calls for two letters after δι]δασκαλο[.

I suggest with some hesitation to read the plural in line 7 δι]δασκά-λο[υς and restore in line 8, [ἐξ ἐπιμελ]ητῶν. For the absence of the article before the magistrates see Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*, 1900, p. 229, No. 26. There were then two instructors for the tribe Pandionis in this year (four for the same tribe in the year of No. 8, p. 21 lines 11-13), if the four names without title may be so identified; two for Leontis in 333/2 (No. 9, p. 26 Col. I 33-36) and in 330/29, one for the same tribe (No. 15, p. 59 Left Side, Col. II 7-11); two in the inscription of Kekropis from Eleusis in 333/2 (No. 5, p. 16). One of the didaskaloi here was also an epimeletes, either of the shrine of Amphiaraos or one of the ten epimeletai who were named to supervise the penteteric festival established at the shrine in 334/3 (*IG* VII *Addenda* 4253). In the inscription from the Amphiaraion the epimeletai οἱ ἐν τοῖς [φ[ρου-ρίοις and an other—unidentified—epimeletes are honored with citations (No. 15, Left Side, Col. I 7-9; Right Side, Col. II 7-10). For didaskaloi, cf. also p. 23. The epimeletes here doubled as didaskalos.

The Date

Peek's identification of Philokrates, son of Sostratos, Phrearrios with the diaitetes of the same name in 329/8 (*IG* II^2 1925, 5-6) would date this inscription some 41 years earlier, 370/69, if he had been, as Peek identified him, one of the lochagoi. But he cannot be one of the epheboi since he is from a deme of Leontis. The inscriptions from Rhamnous fall in the period 334/3-324/3 and it is in this period too that lochagoi are mentioned in the inscriptions. An early date seems indicated. 333/2 is excluded by the fact that the tribe Pandionis is almost certainly represented in that year by No. 8, p. 21 in which the generals Konon and Sophilos are associated. I interpret the text to indicate an official, most likely a didaskalos. Although we have no evidence for age limitations applying to teachers, it seems likely that Philokrates was active in that capacity before he became diaitetes at 60 years of age in 329/8. Hence, ca. 332/1.

Prosopographia

Line 2. The absence of a demotic for Antikleides, son of Antikles, is striking. In No. 9, p. 26 Col. II 15-16, the taxiarch is named immediately before the lochagoi, but with the demotic. Antikleides

may be the taxiarch and the brother of Ἀντιχάρης Ἀντικλέο[ς] (Col. III 14) of Kydathenaion. The father is perhaps to be indentified with Ἀντικλῆς Ἀριστοκράτους K., treasurer of the Boule in 343/2 (*IG* II² 223 c, 8).

Line 3. Kleainetos [Μενάν]δρου (Peek's restoration) Kydathenaieus, doubtless belonged to a parallel branch of the family of Kleon, the demagogue (stemma *PA* 8674). The Kleainetos from the generation of our ephebos (Plut. *Demetrius*, 23, 3) had as father Kleomedon.

Line 5. A gravestone bearing the name of Satyros Paianieus dates from *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 7082).

Line 6. A Sokrates is one of the prytaneis of 155/4 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 151, No. 84).

Line 7. Pouilloux points out that Καλλίας Καλλαίσχρο Παιανιεύς appears on a gravestone from *init. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 7061). He may be the father of the ephebos although Καλλίας Καλλιάδου Παιανιεύς in the Attic Manumission Lists, ca. 330-320 B.C., is another possibility (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 215, Face A, Col. III 253-54, *IG* II² 1559, 57-8). Several centuries later a Kallias of Paiania was a prytanis of Pandionis (*IG* II² 1077, Col. II 38, 209/10).

Line 8. The ephebos Σώστρατος Φιλοκήδου Φ., 329/8, may be a brother (No. 15, p. 58 Col. I 14). Philokrates, son of Philokomos Phrearrios on a gravestone from *med. s.* IV *a.* is doubtless related (*IG* II² 7733).

Col. I 14. Among the epheboi of Pandionis, but without demotic, there occurs the name of Philistion, son of Eirenaios (*IG* II² 1028, Col. I 129, 102/).

Col. I 17. An ephebos of Pandionis, Menestratos, son of Demetrius appears 117/6 (*IG* II² 1009, 92).

Col. III 13. [Ἰσ]όδ[ημ]ος Ἰσοδήμου [Κυδαθηναιεύς] was prytanis of the tribe *post med. S.* IV *a.* (IG II² 1751, 51).

Col. III 15. With Peek, I read Φιλέου as the patronymic. The name occurs in the patronymic of an ephebos of Pandionis ca. 210/11 (*IG* II² 2235, 95). The name Σιλέου which Pouilloux reads is to date a *unicum*.

Previous Edition

W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942 (1951), p. 21, No. 24. Plate 11, 2.

Literature

Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, pp. 149-50.

11

(Plate XII)

DEDICATION TO HERMES BY A RHAMNOUSIAN AFTER AN AWARD OF A CROWN BY THREE HELIKIAI OF EPHEBOI, THEIR KOSMETAI AND SOPHRONISTAI

331/0 Archon, Aristophanes. 332/1. Archon, Niketes. 333/2. Archon, Nikokrates.

J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse*, 1954, 106, No. 1. Pl. XLIV 1, 2. *IG* II² 4594 a. *EM* 12698.

Front quarter of a base of Hymettian marble on the upper surface of which, 0.14 m. from the left margin and 0.11 m. from the front margin, is a cutting, 0.05 m. deep to receive the socle of a statue or column. H. 0.20 m., W. 0.65 m., Th. 0.275 m. Beautifully inscribed in ornate letters. L.H. in lines 1-2, 0.013-0.015 m., L. Int. 0.023 m.; in crowns, L.H. 0.007-0.009 m., L. Int. 0.015 m. The find place on the western side of the southern slope of the fortress near an area where four inscribed θρόνοι were found (*IG* II² 2849) is described as follows by Stais (Πρακτικά 1891, pp. 14-15), . . . ἀνεσκάφη μέγα οἰκοδόμημα διηρήμενον εἰς δύω τετράγωνα δώματα (14 x 12 καὶ 7 x 7) καὶ κυκλικὴν ἐξέδραν, ὅπερ τῇ βοηθείᾳ ἐπιγραφῆς τινος, ἐπὶ βάθρου (ἀγάλματος 'Ερμοῦ) κατὰ χώραν κειμένου, ὕπερθεν τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, δυνάμεθα μετὰ βεβαιότητος νὰ καλέσωμεν Γυμνάσιον.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [Θε]οφάνης 'Ιεροφῶντος 'Ραμνούσιος 'Ερμεῖ [ἀν]έθηκεν στεφανωθε[ὶς]
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν σοφρονιστῶν καὶ τῶν κοσμητῶν.

in coronae oleaginae

ἔφηβοι	ἔφηβοι	ἔφηβοι
οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκράτου	οἱ ἐπὶ Νικήτου	οἱ ἐπὶ 'Αριστοφάνου
ἄρχοντος	ἄρχοντος	ἄρχοντος

Theophanes cannot be identified more exactly. In 106/5, an 'Αριστόνους Θεοφάνου 'Ραμνούσιος appears as an ephebos (*IG* II² 1011, Col. IV 107). Pouilloux thinks that the epheboi honored him with a crown because he had supported their activities by supplying oil and organizing athletic contests. That is, he was a citizen of Rhamnous acting as a patron to the visiting epheboi who were stationed at Rhamnous and who no doubt contributed considerably to the simple economics of the town. The elaborate base and the

honors paid him by three successive groups of epheboi, their sophronistai and kosmetai might support the supposition of an even more substantial service, such as the building of a gymnasium, which Pouilloux however thinks less likely.

The dedication to Hermes, who with Herakles, were preeminently the gods of the gymnasium as Kaibel (*Epigr. Gr. Praef.* p. xx, No. 943 a) interprets the dedication of a victor in the λαμπάς in 145/6, τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖσιν ἐνὶ σταδίοις (*IG* II^2 2053, 2) is most appropriate in connection with the epheboi. In the second and first centuries B.C. and in the first century after Christ the dedication to Hermes was apparently *de rigueur* for victory in the λαμπάς (60/59, *IG* II^2 2992. 6; ca. 38/7, 2995, 4; *paullo post* 8/7, 2997, 6); for acting as gymnasiarch or agonothetes (55/4, *IG* II^2 2993 and one example as early as 338/7, 3023) or for individual or group victory in a contest (*IG* II^2 2981, A and B, 160/59; 2982, 127/6; 2983, 111/10; 2984, 106/5; 2985, 104/3). Cf. also the festival Hermaia known in that century (*IG* II^2 1227, 7, 131/0 and 2980/4, *init. s.* II *a.*). In one inscription the dedication is made to Hermes, Herakes and Apollo (*IG* II^2 2990, 9-10, 97/6) the last god added perhaps because the epheboi who had been to Delos were the victors in the torch race. But epheboi and others made their dedication to Apollo alone after having acted as agonothetes (*IG* II^2 2996, 6, ca. 26/5-17/6), or gymnasiarch (*IG* II^2 3002, *s.* I *a.*) or after winning the lampas (*IG* II^2 3006, *s.* I *p.* and 2999, *fin. s.* I *a.*). Dedications to the Muses are made by the mellepheboi and synepheboi (*IG* II^2 2986, 95/4 ? and 2991, 94/3).

The Athenians were elated at the return to them of Oropos in the settlement after Chaeronea. It was a symbol to them of Attica *rediviva et integra*. In the archonship of Niketes, 332/1, a decree was passed in honor of Phanodemos Thymaitades for his legislation to establish a penteteric festival at the Amphiaraion, successor to the festival celebrated there by the Thebans, and for the provision of money for the rebuilding of the shrine and for the games (*IG* VII *Addenda* 4253). Reference is elsewhere made (pp. 70. 71) to the distinguished committee of ten epimeletai including Phanodemos, Sophilos, the general, Demades of Paiania, Kephison, the archon of 329/8 and Lycurgus himself to supervise the games in 329/8 (*IG* VII *Addenda* 4254). The present inscription gives evidence for the presence of the whole body of epheboi and their officials at Rhamnous in three successive years, the year of Niketes

and the years of the archons immediately preceding and following him. I have elsewhere suggested that the large ephebic inscription of the tribe of Leontis (No. 15, p. 58) which was found at the Amphiaraion is to be dated in 324/3, a penteteric year, and that the institution of a festival to be celebrated every five years and the revivification of the ephebia at about that time were the beginnings of an ambitious program under Lycurgus to reestablish the hegemony of Athens (Paper presented to the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy held in Cambridge, England 23 September, 1967 and subsequently published in the *Acta* of that Congress, Cambridge, 1969).

Previous Editions

B. Stais, Πρακτικά, 1891, p. 15; P. Foucart, *Rev. Phil.* 16, 1894, 244; U. Koehler, *IG* II 5, 1571 b; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² 4594 a; W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942 (1951), 51, No. 78 and Pl. 16, 2; J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, 1954, 106-7, No. 1 and Pl. 44, 1, 2.

Literature

Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, p. 123.

12

(Plate XIII)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI OF OINEIS

330/29 (?). Archon, Aristophon.

W. K. Pritchett, *Hesp.* Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 273-78 and Pl. 27. Agora Inv. No. I 5250.

Stele of Hymettian marble with a cutting on the top surface, 0.060 m. by 0.114 m. H. 1.154 m., W. 0.30 m., Th. 0.152 m., L.H. 0.007 m., L. Int. 0.015 m. Crowning *cyma recta* and bead molding. Horizontal guide lines extend across the width of the stone, twelve, below the last name in Col. I. There are no guide lines for the citations which are unevenly inscribed. On the front face there is a space of ca. 0.10 m., enough for five or six lines from the bottom of the crowning molding which is preserved on the right and left sides to the top of the first preserved name in Col. II. The front face has a smoother surface than the sides. Removed from bedrock at the bottom of the Valerian Wall, Agora Grid QRS/17-20.

Col. I

[*demoticum*]
[-------]
[-------]
[-------]
Νικομένης
Βουτάδαι
῞Αβρων
Θεαῖος
Τυρμεῖδαι
Δημοφάνης
Φυλάσιοι
᾽Αριστοφῶν
Διότιμος
Λεπτίνης
Σωκράτης
Αὐτοκλῆς
᾽Επικράτης

Col. II

[-------]
[-------]
[᾽Αχαρνεῖς]
[Σώστρατος]
Εὔθοινος
Τιμοκλῆς
῾Ιπποθέρσης
᾽Αριστοφάνης
Θεόφιλος
Λέων
Δημόφιλος
Εὐθύμαχος
᾽Αριστοτέλης
Κηφισογένης
Ναυκύδης
᾽Αντιφάνης
Δ̣ιόδωρος

(Col. I)

Περιθοῖδαι
Φιλέας
Ὀῆθεν
Ἀριστόδημος
Νέων
Δήμων
Καλλιφῶν
Ἀγαθοκλῆς
Λακιάδαι
Κτησίας
Θεόπομπος
Θριάσιοι
Εὔβουλος
Τελεσίβουλος
Εὔβουλος
Χιωνίδης
Πτελεάσιοι
Εὐπόλεμος
Σωσίπολις

(Col. II)

Ἐχέμυθος
Φίλιππος
Μνησίας
Δημοκήδης
Δεισίθεος
Λυσικράτης
Ἡγήτωρ
Εὐθυκλῆς
Πυθοκλῆς
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος
Κοθωκίδαι
Δορκεύς
Ἀριστόνικος
Ἄβριππος
Μνησικλῆς

vacat 0.142

Κηφισογένην
Ἀχαρνέα

vacat 0.13

Ἄβρωνα
Βουτάδην

vacat 0.185

Χιωνίδην
Θριάσιον

vacat 0.135

Σώστρατον
Ἀχαρνέα

Φίλιππον
Ἀχαρνέα

in latere sinistro

Χειμέα
σωφρονιστήν

vacat

Φίλιππον

in latere dextro

Ναυκύδην
Διογένους

vacat

Φιλημονίδην
στρατηγόν

vacat

Κηφίσιππον
ἀκοντιστήν

Prosopographia. Probable Date under First Item

Identifications and relationships which are based on name, patronymic and deme alone, even when to some extent validated by date, must always be considered probable or possible in a greater or less degree. If one of these elements is lacking, as here the patronymics, the degree of probability is, of course, lessened.

Col. I 8. 72-73. Habron Boutades.

He is very likely the oldest of the three sons of Lykourgos, who died in 324/3 (*PA* 15). All three sons were brought to trial shortly after their father's death. Pritchett (p. 273, Note 3) points out that the youngest son must have been at least twenty years old at the time of the trial in view of the prohibition of legal action involving epheboi (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 42, 5). The ephebate of Habron must have been several years previous to 324/3. He was ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν in 306/5 (*IG* II^2 1492, 123-24), an office which he is not likely to have held much before his thirtieth year, and his ephebate must therefore fall in the period 336-330 B.C.

A Pythokles of Acharnai is known to have held a trierarchy in 328/7 (*IG* II^2 1628 a, 21-22) and again in 323/2 (*IG* II^2 1631 d, 635. 670; 1632 a, 27). If he is identical with the ephebos from Acharnai (Col. II 63) his first trierarchy would have been held at the earliest in the year immediately following his ephebate, 329/8, since it was required that the trierarchy be undertaken εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐξελθών (Dem. 21, 154).

The sophronistes Χειμεύς (Left Side, 1-2) is almost certainly to be identified with the trierarch in 357/6 (*IG* II^2 1953, 9), Χειμεύ[ς] Κίκω[νος Λακιάδης], whose epitaph is preserved (*IG* II^2 6635), Χειμεὺς <Κ>ίκ<ω>νος Λακιάδης, since the name Χειμεύς is to date known only from these inscriptions. Cheimeus was ca. 20 to 25 years old in 357/6 and would not have been sophronistes much before he was 40. On these suppositions he would have been sophronistes between ca. 337/6 to 332/1.

Pritchett (pp. 273-74) and Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, pp. 148-49) accept as a fact the identification of the two Acharnian epheboi, Hippotherses and Theophilos (Col. II 44 and 46) with their homonyms from Acharnai whose names appear in a text from Carystos in Euboea the nature and date of which cannot be definitely ascertained (*IG* XII 9, 1242, 19-20). The editors, LeGrand and Doublet (*BCH* 15, 1891, 406-408), suggest that the inscription

probably contains the names of Athenian soldiers who were in Euboea (Strabo 10, 446) during the Lamian War in 323/2, and date the inscription in 321/0. Carystos is known to have joined the allied Greek forces under Leosthenes (Diod. 18, 11, 1-2; Paus. 1, 24, 4) and Diodoros 18, 10, 1-2 tells us that all Athenian hoplites between the ages of 20 and 40 were mobilized for the war. The conclusions drawn from the identification of the pair of homonymous names and the suggested nature of the inscription from Carystos taken alone might be considered dubious. In conjunction with the inferences we can make from Habron Boutades, Pythokles Acharneus and Cheimeus the sophronistes, they permit us to see ca. 330/29 as the most probable date of this inscription. Other prosopographical items, as will appear below, are not inconsistent with this dating.

Col. I 13. Aristophon Phylasios. A Ἀντιγένους Φ. in an unidentified catalogue of Oineis (*IG* II² 2408, 4) most of the names of which can be recognized as individuals who were active in the period of 330-25 B.C. may be our ephebos, as Pritchett implies. He adduces the name of Antigenes Phylasios from a heterogeneous list from *med. s.* III *a.* as a possible relative (*IG* II² 2437, 18).

Col. I 16 Sokrates Phylasios. Dionysios, son of Sokrates from this deme was kosmetes in 123/2 (*IG* II² 1006, 56).

Col. I 18. Epikrates Tyrmeides. One of the victors in the Theseia 157/56 was [Ἐπικρ]άτης Ἀρκέσαντος of the tribe Oineis (*IG* II² 957, 55)

Col. I 20. Phileas Perithoides. The name occurs much later among the epheboi of Oeneis 220/21 (*IG* II² 2223, 82; the date is that of Notopoulos, *Hesp.* 18, 1949, p. 37).

Col. I 25. Kalliphon Oethen. A Kalliphon of Oineis appears as a casualty in ca. 424/3 (*IG* I² 949, 8) and a Kalliphon Oethen in a sepulchral monument (*IG* II² 6967 as restored SEG 13, 112).

Col. I 26. Agathokles Oethen. A prytanis of Oineis ca. 221/22 bore the name Agathokles (*IG* II² 1784, 18; for date, *Hesp.* 18, 1949, pp. 43. 52).

Col. I 31.32. The names of Euboulos and Telesiboulos were overlooked in Pritchett's publication (cf. *Hesp.* 21, 1952, p. 365 and Note 50. There were two Thriasian epheboi named Euboulos. The second occurs in line 33.

Col. I 34. Chionides Thriasios. One of three men who brought money from Antigonus to assist Athens in 306/5 (*IG* II² 1492,

100-101; Diod. 20, 46, 4; Plut. Demetr. 10) and a member of a similar committee bringing money from Lemnos and Imbros in 305/4 (*IG* II² 1492, 133-34) was Chionides Thriasios, who may with likelihood be identified with the ephebos here. A councillor of Oeneis ca. 260/59 was [X]ιωνίδης [- - -]ίου [Θρι]άσιος (*Hesp.* Suppl. I 53, No. 11, 17-19).

Col. I 37. Sosipolis Pteleasios. A Sosipolis, son of Sosippos, erected a monument to his phratry of thiasotai, *init. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 2344, 12).

Col. II 41. 76-77. Sostratos Acharneus. The Sostratos, son of Euxitheos Archarneus who was recorded as being in arrears in his delivery of a cheese crate in a year *post* 358/7 (*IG* II² 1615 c, 97 and 1616 c, 120) may have been the father of the ephebos. The trierarch [Σώστ]ρ̣α̣τ̣ο̣ς 'Α̣χ̣α̣ρ̣ν̣ε̣(α) in 370/69 (*IG* II² 1609, Col. II 78; for date, *SEG* 16, 132) may be the grandfather.

Col. II 44. See also Col. I 8. 72-73 above. Hippotherses Acharneus. A late member of his family appears to be one of the epimeletai of a procession in 282/1. Kalippos, son of Hippotherses Acharneus (*IG* II² 668, 29). An unidentified Hippotherses is recorded to have made a dedication to Asklepios in *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 4380).

Col. II 45. Aristophanes Acharneus. Aristophanes, father of [..⁵...]κλῆς of Acharnai appears in the Attic Manumission Lists, ca. 330-320 B.C. (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, Face B, Col. III 272, *IG* II² 1559, 98).

Col. II 46. Theophilos Acharneus. Pritchett (l.c. p. 277) reports five occurrences of the name of Theophilos Acharneus within the period 332-268 B.C.: the sons of Ephiamon (*BCH* 15, 1891, 407, Col. II 6); Kallimachos (*IG* II² 1544, 3); Olympiodoros (*IG* II² 5806); Theodotos (*Hesp.* 7, 1938, 100 No. 18, 3-4); and Echestratos (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 36, No. 3, 7).

Col. II 47. Leon Acharneus. Pritchett suggests that the priest, Leon of Acharnai, *fin. s.* III *a.*, may be the same man as the ephebos (Robert, *Études Épigr. et Philol.*, p. 294). For a later Leon of Acharnai who is known from Paus. 1, 37, 1 see *PA* 9111 (out of sequence, after 9117) where there is a stemma.

Col. II 48. Demophilos Acharneus. Perhaps to be identified with him are Demophilos Acharneus, the orator of a decree, *ante* 318/7 (*IG* II² 421, 3-4; *IG* II² 1631 d, 657). The father of the ephebos in all likelihood was the ἱεροποιὸς ἐγ βουλῆς in 329/8 (*IG* II² 1672, 299) and the man known to have been active in public life in this

period (*PA* 3675), whose father was also named Demophilos (*PA* 3674). Cf. Pritchett, l.c. pp. 277-78.

Col. II 50. Aristoteles Acharneus. A boundary stone bears this name and demotic (*IG* II² 2567, 5-6). Aristotle, son of Euphiletos, Acharneus appears as secretary in 378/7 (*Hesp.* 7, 1938, 626, No. 1, 1-2 from the duplicate, *IG* II² 44, 1-2).

Col. II 51. Kephisogenes Acharneus. The name occurs as the patronymic of an Acharnian, the orator of a decree in 306/5 (*Hesp.* 3, 1934, 5 No. 6, 9).

Col. II 52 and Right Side, 1-2. Naukydes, son of Diogenes Acharneus. Ναυσιστράτη Ναυκύδους Ἀχαρνέως represented seated and extending a hand to her bearded husband on a funerary lekythos, s. IV *a.*, (*IG* II² 5823), is perhaps his wife. Diophantos, son of Diogenes, Acharneus in a catalogue of cleruchs, *ante med. s.* IV *a.*, is perhaps an earlier relative (*IG* II² 1952, 34). See also below.

Col. II 53. Antiphanes Acharneus. A funerary stele shows a mother holding a boy, Antias, son of Antiphanes Acharneus (*IG* II² 5783). Pritchett quotes Moebius (*Die Ornamente d. gr. Grabstelen*, p. 41 and Table 26 a) for the dating, 340-317 B.C., but because Kirchner places the letter forms in the middle of the fourth century B.C., he excludes the identification of Antiphanes, the father of Antias, with the ephebos here.

Col. II 54. Diodoros Acharneus. Kirchner feels that the Diodoros who was father of Diopeithes, choregos *init. s.* IV *a.* was an Acharnian (*IG* II² 3092, 2).

Col. II 56. 78-79. Left Side, 3. Philippos Acharneus. The Philippos of Acharnai, proposer of a decree 306/5 (*IG* II² 1492, 123) and the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν 305/4 (IG II² 1492, 130. 136. 138) are probably the same individual as our ephebos. See also below.

Col. II 60. Lysikrates Acharneus. Among the councillors of Oineis in 355/4, Lysikrates appears as the father of Mnesikrates (*IG* II² 1700, 135-36).

Col. II 62. Euthykles Acharneus. The name, Euthykles, son of Archippos of Acharnai, is inscribed on a funerary loutrophoros with anaglyph, *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 5798).

Col. II 63. Pythokles Acharneus. Πυθοκλῆς [...]νογέν(ους) A., is attested as councillor of Oinoe, ca. 285/4 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 36, No. 3, 5) as is Pytheas, son of Pythokles Acharneus in ca. 175/4 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 120, No. 64, 29; for date, *SEG* 21, 448). Their relationship to Pythokles, the ephebos and the trierarch who, I think, are the

same individual (see above, p. 44), can only be conjectured. It is possible, as Pritchett suggests, that the councillor of 285/4 could be our ephebos.

Col. II 64. Olympiodoros Acharneus. The archon basileus of 229/8 was doubtless a relative (*IG* II² 1706, 2). Olympiodoros, the father of Theophilos of Acharnai (*IG* II² 5806) has been mentioned above (Col. II 44).

Left Side, lines 1-2. For Cheimeus the sophronistes, see p. 44.

Line 3. Three identifications suggest themselves for Philipos here: 1) the ephebos, Philippos of Acharnai, whose name is here inscribed for the third time in recognition of his athletic prowess or of his part in organizing the games or in defraying their expenses, although no clear example of honor for these reasons is known from tribal inscriptions. Many occur in later ephebic inscriptions (cf. p. 17). 2) He was the taxiarch of the epheboi who is named by title in two tribal inscriptions (No. 5,; No. 9, p. 25 Col. I 21 and Col. II 15-16). The title is restored with virtual certainty over his fragmentary name in No. 14, p. 56 lines 3-4. By exclusion of other possibilities, the taxiarch is given a citation in a manner very similar to the mention of Philipos here in No. 15, p. 59 Left Side, 11-13. He is probably mentioned, but without title, in another tribal inscription, No. 10, p. 34 line 2. Meritt restored the title of taxiarch in the heading of No. 8, p. 21 line 1, a restoration of *IG* II² 2976, but the preserved fragmentary names of the generals, the kosmetes and the lochagoi left no room for the taxiarch in the place where his title and name might be expected to occur, unless one of the four names (l.c., lines 11-13) without title which may best be interpreted as representing didaskaloi was that ephebic officer,—a highly unlikely supposition. Decisive against this interpretation in my view is the fact that there is only one ephebos named Philippos and he is a lochagos. On the military organization of the ephebic corps, see F. W. Mitchel, *TAPA* 92, 1961, 347-57. Finally, 3) another general or ephebic official, most likely, in my opinion, a second didaskalos.

Right Side, 1-2. Ναυκύδην Διογένους. With Mitchel, (l.c. p. 355) I think it most plausible to recognize in him the ephebic taxiarch. Naukydes is the name of one of the Acharnian epheboi (Col. II 52).

If, as Pritchett believes, he is a lochagos, his name would appear with the names of the five others whom he identifies as lochagoi, lines 70-79. Pritchett notes that the patronymic has inadvertently been inscribed "instead of (the) demotic" (read "title" since the title, not the demotic appears with the other names on both the right and left sides, all of which represent either ephebic or other officials).

Lines 3-4. Philemonides, the strategos. Xen. *de vect.* 4, 15 mentions a Philemonides who owned slaves working in the mines and Philemon, son of Philemonides, killed Nikias, son of Heroskamandros (Plato, *Theag.* 129 b). The general is not known.

Lines 5-6. Kephisippos, the akontistes. The only Kephisippos known to date is the prytanis of Antigonis from the deme Gargettios in the period 210/9-201/0 (*IG* II^2 912, 22 and *Hesp.* Suppl. I 88-89, No. 39).

Writing in 1949, Pritchett noted that the names Echemythos (line 55) and Habrippos (line 66) were unique in Attic prosopography. They still are.

The heading is not preserved. The names of 52 epheboi are arranged in two columns under their respective deme names which project one letter from the column margin. As many as five additional names may be assumed to have been inscribed which would give a total of 57 epheboi from Oineis in ca. 330/29. By demes, Boutadai, 2; Tyrmeidai, 1; Phylasioi, 6, Perithoidai, 1; Oe, 5; Lakiadai, 2; Thriasioi, 4; Pteleasioi, 2; Acharnai, 24; Kothokidai, 4. The deme names Epikephisia, Hippopotamidai and Lousia are not preserved, but the name of one of them to which Nikomenes (Col. I 6) belonged occupied one of the four vacant lines in Col. I. It is very probable, judging from the fact that two demes had only one, and two others only two representatives, that one of the two remaining missing deme names was also inscribed. In this case the total number of epheboi would be reduced to 56 to allow for the insertion of the demotic. Assuming that a demotic was inscribed in line 2 of Col. I only one additional demotic could be restored in the available space and consequently only one deme would be lacking. In Col. II 38-39 a demotic followed by one name is a possible restoration. But if one supplies a demotic in Col. I 2 there is no space for another demotic in this column, since the demotic in line 2 would have to be followed by the minimum one name and that

in turn by a demotic and a single name which would fill lines 4 and 5 leaving no space for the demotic of Nikomenes in line 6.

Below the two columns there are citations for five of the epheboi whose names, repeated from the roster above, are accompanied by demotics. They are undoubtedly the lochagoi. On the Left Side there are citations for the sophronistes and an unidentified Philippos; on the Right Side, three citations,—for Naukydes, son of Diogenes, the strategos Philemonides and Kephisippos, the akontistes. The designation of a didaskalos by his branch of instruction is unique in tribal inscriptions.

13

(Plates XIV and XV)

MONUMENT OF THE EPHEBOI (?) OF ERECHTHEIS COMMEMORATING VICTORY IN THE LAMPADEDROMIA

329/8 or 324/3 Archons, Kephisophon, Hegesias

J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse*, 111, No. 2 *bis* and Pl. XLV 1, 2. *E.M.* Γλυπτά 313.

A rounded base with moldings top and bottom carries the inscription. On the top surface there is a cutting to receive a socle. A draped feminine figure sculptured to the hemline of the dress and ending in a tetragonal herm-like block with a socle which fitted into the cutting was found near the rounded base. The head of the maiden is slightly tilted to the left; the left arm tucks the folds of the garment behind the left thigh. The right arm, broken off above the elbow apparently rested freely at her side. Diameter of the base, 0.42 m., H. 0.27 m., L. H. 0.009 m. Both were found outside the north wall of the temple temenos in Rhamnous on the road leading to the harbor.

[-----------------------------------
[-----------------------------------
[-----------------------------------
[-----------------------------------

Λ Α Μ [Π] Α Δ Η —

'Αγακλῆς Περγασῆ
[-------------]
'Αρχάγαθος Λανπτρ
Σόλων 'Αγρυλῆθεν
Πυθοκλῆς Λανπτρε
Δημοκρίνης Περγα
Δικαιοκράτης Περ
Χαριναύτης Λαν
Φιλήμων 'Αγρυλῆ
'Αριστοκλῆς Λανπ
Φιλοχάρης 'Αναγυ

[------------]
Φανόμα[χος-----]
'Αλκιμαχίδης Περ
Κίμων Περγασῆ
Τιμοκράτης Κηφι
Σωσίβ<ι>ος Εὐωνυμ
Διοκλῆς Λανπτρε
'Ιέρων Λαμπτρε
Πολυκράτης Εὐων
Ξενοφῶν Λαμπτ
'Επικράτης Εὐων
[--- π]είθης Λαμ

--------------------------- 'Αναγυρ]άσιος
-------------------- γυμ]νασίαρχοι ἀνέθεσαν

--ἐπὶ---------ἄρ]χοντος λαμπάδι νικήσαντες
--Εὐ]ωνυμεύς, Χαρικλῆς Ἀλεξιμένου Περγασῆθεν.

Φ Ό Ρ Ο Ι

Ὑπέρβολος Παμ	Ἐπικράτης Ἀναγ	Λεωχίδης Εὐων
Φιλοκλῆς Ἀνα	Θηραμένης Κηφισι	*vacat*
Ἀριστίων Περγασ	Φίλων Λαμπτρ	
Τελένικος Περγασ	Θεόφιλος Ἀ<να>γυρά	
Εἴδων Ἀγρυλῆθεν	Ἀγνωνίδης Κηφισι	
Φίλιππος Ἀναγυρά	Φιλόστρατος Λαμ	
Φιλόδημος Λανπτ	Κάλλιπ<π>ος Λαμπτ	
Ἀντίφημος Περγασ	Γλαῦκος Εὐωνυ	
Ἀντιφάνης Κηφισι	Νικόφημος Εὐω	
Φιλόνεως Περγασῆθ	Φιλωνίδης Εὐων	
Νικίας Κηφισιεύς	Κηφισογένης Κηφ	
Φανοτέλης Εὐων	Πολυμήδης Λαμπτ	

B. Stais, the first editor, felt that the statue represented Hermes (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1891, 58). Pouilloux (p. 111) found it difficult (as I do) not to see a feminine figure, and suggested an allegorical representation of the tribe. A priestess or attendant of Rhamnousian Nemesis seems a much more likely identification. According to the Suda, s.v. Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις and Schol. Dem. 18, 38, Nemesis, Queen of Rhamnous was the mother of Erechtheus who established her cult there. The lampadedromia was doubtless a part of the Nemeseia which was celebrated in her honor and a feminine figure connected with Nemesis would be a most appropriate tribute to the mother of Erechtheus who was the eponymous tribal hero of the victors.

If our assumption is correct that the victors were the epheboi of Erechtheis, the inscription is analogous to No. 6, p. 17, in which the epheboi and sophronistes of Akamantis dedicate the monument celebrating their victory in the lampas to the hero Mounichos, most probably the ἐπώνυμος τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν as here the Erechtheids recognize the mother of the ἐπώνυμος τῆς φυλῆς αὐτῶν. The fact that the gymnasiarchs are members of the tribe may be accidental, but the gymnasiarch was not necessarily of the same tribe as the contestants (cf. *IG* II^2 3023, dated 338/7 where a demesman from Xypetaion was gymnasiarch for Kekropis) and here

may be a slight indication reflecting the strictly tribal organization of the ephebia. It is not excluded that the gymnasiarchs were themselves epheboi—their names may have occurred in the two spaces which cannot be read. This is less likely, however, since ephebic gymnasiarchs seem to make their appearance much later (73/2, *IG* II² 1039, 29 ff.). Futher support for considering this an ephebic inscription is the fact that it was found at Rhamnous where the presence of the epheboi at this particular period is repeatedly attested, especially in the penteteric years of the Amphiaraia which was established in 334/3.

Forty-seven epheboi for Erechtheis in 329/8 or 324/3 would agree well with the 62 epheboi of Leontis which are listed in the inscription of 324/3 (No. 15, p. 58) which was also found at Rhamnous.

Since the line length cannot be determined, any attempt at the restoration of lines 1-4 would be questionable, and Pouilloux wisely does not incorporate his tentative suggestion for the reading of these lines (p. 112) into his text. To summarily dismiss the text as non-ephebic because there is no mention of epheboi in the very fragmentary heading (Pélékidis, *Éphêbie*, p. 119, Note 1) does not recommend itself as reasonable since several plausible restorations could easily supply the lack.

Prosopographia

Kirchner noted that five of the names in this list occur also in *IG* II² 2401 which is dated *post med. s.* IV *a.* and lists men from a deme whose name has been lost, from Pergase (tribe Erectheis) and Angele (tribe Pandionis), in three instances supplying us with a patronymic: line 4, Charikles, son of Aleximenos of Pergase (2401, 8); line 12, Dikaiokrates of Pergase (2401, 10); line 20, Kimon of Pergase = Kimon, son of Kimon, P. (2401, 5); line 31, Aristion of Pergase = Aristion, son of Aristonikos, P. (2401, 9); line 32, Telenikos of Pergase = Τελένικος Τελ--- (2401, 6). But it should be noted that his name is the last in the list from a deme whose name has been lost immediately preceding the names under the caption Περγασεῖς. If, as Kirchner thinks, the names above this caption are also men of Pergase it seems strange that an identifying καθύπερθεν or ὑπένερθεν was not inscribed with the extant caption. For convenience I repeat the prosopographical data of Kirchner *ad IG* II² 3105, along with supplementary material.

Line 14. Philemon of Agryle. His brother probably was Pausanias, son of Philemon A., trierarch in 334/3 and 325/4, *IG* II² 1623 b, 146; 1629c, 504.

Line 19. Alkimachides of Pergase. Kirchner identifies the bouleutes of Erechtheis in 335/4 (*IG* II² 1700, 16), A., son of Hegemachos P. as the same man. In the absence of the patronymic the identification loses some of its compelling nature and he may equally well be the father or grandfather.

Line 23. Diokles of Lamptrai. Diokles, son of D. of Lamptrai, in an ephebic roster of 143/4 or 144/5 (*IG* II² 2050, 47) shows that the family maintained the ephebic tradition for centuries.

Line 27. Epikrates of Euonymon. Kirchner identifies him with E., son of Isokrates, E., who is known to have sold a reopened mine, *paullo post* 348/7 (*IG* II² 1582, 123). If my dating of this inscription is correct, he is more likely the father of the ephebos here. A later descendant, 256/5, was the councillor of Erechtheis, E., son of Androkles, E. (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 46, No. 9, 33; cf. *SEG* 21, 378). Of the same family are Epikrates, who with his brothers Arketos, Boulon and Xenophon, their father, Hagias, son of Nikarchos, E. and their mother Demetria, daughter of Boulon of the deme Paiania, honor their sister and daughter, Xenostrate, one of the maidens who carried the sacred symbols of Athena Polias in 108/7 (*IG* II² 1036, a new text of which was published by Hutton, *BSA* 21, 1914-16, p. 159).

Line 29. Hyperbolos of Pambotadai. A grave marker of his father (?), Hyperbolos, son of Apollodoros, P. (*IG* II² 7141, 2, *med. s.* IV *a.*).

Line 31. Aristion of Pergase. A like-named descendant was the prytanis of Erechtheis in 181/0 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 97, No. 47, 73; for date, *SEG* 21, 442).

Line 32. Telenikos of Pergase. Probably the grandson or great grandson of *PA* 13500, Teleas, son of Telenikos of Pergase, secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 416/5 (*IG* I² 246, 174; 270, 132-33) and in 415/4 (*IG* I² 247, 193; 271, 147) and ridiculed in Aristoph. *Aves*, 168, 1025; *Pax*, 1008 and by other comic writers. T., the seer of Erechtheis on the Egyptian Expedition in 459/60 (*Thuc.* 1, 104, 1-2) whose name appears in the casualty list *IG* I² 929, 128-29 was doubtless of the same family.

Line 35. Philodemos of Lamptrai. Perhaps the grandfather of

the councillor of Erechtheis in 256/5, Ktesias, son of Philodemos, L. (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 44, No. 9, 25; cf. SEG 21, 378).

Line 36. Antiphemos of Pergase. His name is restored on a grave monument (*IG* II^2 7205), [Ἀντ]ίφημος [Κηφι]σιοδώρου [Περγασ]ῆ-[θεν].

Line 44. Theophilos of Anagyrous. The same name and deme are found combined in the names of epheboi of Erechtheis in the Imperial Period: ca. 110/11 (*IG* II^2 2019, 14); 197/8-199/200 (*IG* II^2 2128, 6); and in the name of the father of the ephebos Isidoros in 154/5 (*IG* II^2 2067, 26).

Line 45. Hagnonides of Kephisia. Probably the same man appears in the Attic Manumission Lists, dated ca. 330-320 B.C., H., son of Pisistratos, K. (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 215, Face A, Col. III 249). Meritt read the name of the kosmetes in Antiphon's archonship, 258/7 (*Hesp.* 7, 1938, 112, No. 20, 32 which consists of *IG* II^2 700 and Agora I 2054; cf. *SEG* 21, 375) as [. .]γωνίδην Ἀνδροκλ[έους. . . . . .^{13}. . . . . . .]. He suggested that the kosmetes was possibly a relative of a man [. . . . . .]δης Ἀνδροκ̣[- - -] appearing in a fragmentary inscription with letter shapes of the late third century B.C. (*Hesp.* 3, 1934, 60, No. 49, 6) and that both names should be restored Hagnonides, son of Androkles. The name of the kosmetes in the first of these two texts must be followed by the demotic which leaves 5 of the thirteen spaces allowed for it unfilled. In noting this Meritt adds, "The text is modified stoichedon and the only restoration I can suggest in this 'tight' passage is the insertion of an unparalleled ὁμοιῶς, which with Κηφισιέα contain three iotas."

Line 47. Kallippos of Lamptrai. His father, Kalleas, son of Kallippos, L., epistates of the temple at Eleusis in 333/2 (*IG* II^2 1544, 6-7). *PA* 8074, a litigant in the case in which Dem. 52 was delivered in 369/8 may have been his grandfather. A Kalleas appears in the casualty list of Erechtheis in 460/59 (*IG* I^2 929, 144). A later descendant, Markos Aurelius Kallippos, L. was kosmetes in 239/40 (*IG* II^2 2239, 1; 3766, 2-3) and father of the archon and priest of the Mother of the Gods and Agapetos *paullo post* 200/01 (*IG* II^2 1817, 10 and 1816, 1, where his name is largely restored).

The presence of two kosmetes among the relatives of the young men in this list and the repeated ephebic connections strongly support the view that the text is a list of ephebic victors.

14

(Plate XVI)

ANATHEMA OF THE EPHEBOI OF AKAMANTIS FROM RHAMNOUS

Date. 333/2-324/3.

Wallace E. McLeod, *Hesp.* 28, 1959, 121-126 and Plate 25. *EM* 13200.

Upper right corner of a pillar of white sugary marble crowned by a cavetto capital. Originally a projecting molding surrounded the top of the abacus but it has been completely broken off. The shaft rises vertically front and rear, but tapers inward slightly on the right side. The top is rough picked, the sides are more smoothly finished. On the top near the center of the broken left edge is a part of a dowel hole by which the dedication was secured. H. 0.307 m., W. 0.155 m., Th. 0.216 m., L.H. on abacus, 0.007 m., on shaft, 0.005 m. Found 1958 in a small room in the Fortress of Rhamnous, northwest of the theatre and south of the citadel wall.

in abaco

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [οἱ ἔφηβοι στεφ]ανωθέντες ὑπὸ
[τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το]ῦ δήμου *vac.*

infra abacum

vacat 0.077 m.

[ταξίαρχ]ος
[----------]κου Θορίκιος
[λοχαγ]οί
[----------]ου Προσπάλτιο[ς]
[-------- Ἁ]γνούσιος
[--------- ο]υς Χολαργεύς
[-------- κρ]άτους Θορίκιος
[---------Κ]εφαλῆθεν
[--------- ο]υ[ς] Χολαργεύς
[---------Σ]φήττιος
[----------]ς Θορίκιος
[------ ἐκ Κ]εραμείων
[---------Θ]ορίκιος

vacat 0.025 m.

The analogy of the tribal inscriptions from the Amphiaraion (No. 15, p. 58) and from the Agora (No. 12, p. 42) in which the

names of those who were honored were inscribed on the sides of the stone, and in the former were given their titles in each instance, supports the restorations given and makes reasonable Mitchel's suggestion (*TAPA* 92, 1961, 356, Note 12) that the main text, and we may add the roster of epheboi, was inscribed on the face. Mitchel reexamined the stone in Athens and reports with certainty that there is no erasure of three lines which McLeod seemed to see above [- - - στεφ]ανωθέντες ὑπό which is actually the first inscribed on the stone. Although the size and spacing of the preserved letters is not uniform, his estimate of 12-13 letters before στεφ] is about right and checks with the fact that so far as one can judge from proportions the preserved part of the stone is approximately half of its original width. The restoration, οἱ ἔφηβοι, coincides almost exactly with the space available, and is in itself most probable.

Although the restorations of McLeod in line 3, [ταχίαρχ]ος, and in line 5, [λοχαγ]οί, are based on insignificant remainders, they are convincing and all but certain when compared with the analogous tribal inscriptions which were mentioned above. The only other individuals who would possibly be honored in the position in line 3, the kosmetes, the sophronistes, even an epimeletes are all excluded by the preserved - - -]ος. A strategos is possible, but his title would usually (although not necessarily) be followed by an identifying phrase. For line 5, ἔφηβ]οι is, of course, a possible reading, but the register of epheboi would not normally be inscribed on the side of an ephebic monument.

Although no fixed proportion of lochagoi to epheboi can be established, the ten lochagoi here would suggest a fairly large body of epheboi from Akamantis. That there were no more than ten is certain from the *vacat* before the last preserved ending of a deme name.

As McLeod points out, the inscription must be dated before 307/6 when the deme Hagnous here (l. 7) among the demes of Akamantis became a part of the tribe Demetrias. Since the known inscriptions which mention lochagoi are confined to the period 333/2-324/3, this inscription can be placed at about that time.

15

(Plates XVII, XVIII)

THE EPHEBOI AND LOCHAGOI OF LEONTIS HONOR THE GENERALS, THEIR OFFICERS AND OTHERS

324/3 Archon, Hegesias.

B. Leonardos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1918, pp. 73-100, Nos. 95-97, with photograph, pp. 74 and 76. In the Amphiaraion in Oropos.

Base of native limestone like hard poros with *fascia* and *ovolo* molding top and bottom, inscribe on the front face below and above the *ovolo* at the top and the bottom, and on both sides. A segment of the stone on the lower left side was broken off but has now been joined to the larger part of the stone. In the middle of the top surface, a rectangular cutting, on the back side, an inset, H. 0.09 m., W. 0.07-0.045 m., with a depth of 0.05 m., apparently for a support. Overall dimensions of the base, H. 0.73 m. (of the part between the upper and lower molding 0.585 m.), W. 0.485 m., Th. 0.335 m. at the moldings (between the moldings, 0.315 m.), L.H. on the face, line 1, 0.012 m., line 6, 0.004 m., other lines, 0.004-0.007 m., on sides, 0.008 m. L. Int. on face. lines 5-7, 0.002 m., other lines, 0.007 m., on sides, 0.008 m. It was found behind the base of the statue of Ἄδεια (Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 373) and to the east of a statue base for Agrippa in the Amphiaraion.

Λ Ο Χ Α Γ Ο Ị

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. Ἡγέστ[ρ]ατος Κ̣λείππου, Ἁ[γ]νίας Μακαρτά̣[τ]ου, Πασιφῶν Π̣αντήνορο,
Ἀρχέπολις Παντήνορος, Παράμυθος Ἀντιγένου, Σωσίστρατος
Σωσιστράτου, Λυσανίας Μόλωνος, Δ[ω]σί[θ]εος Ἀντιγένου, Φο[ρ]ύσκος
Τιμοκράτου, Σωσικλῆς Σωσιστράτου, Τιμήσιος Σημωνίδου.

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
Φρεάριοι Εὔπολις Καλλιάδου *vacat*		
Ἀλκίμαχος Καλλιμάχου	Ποτάμιοι ὑπένερθεν	ἐξ Οἴου
Διόδωρος Καλλιμάχου	Παράμυθος Ἀντιγένου	Ἁγνίας Μακαρτάτου
Πασιφῶν Παντήνορος	Ἐπικράτ[η]ς Ἀριστο-κράτου	Στράτων Στρατωνίδο(υ)
Ἀρχέπολις Παντήνορος	Σκαμ[β]ωνίδαι	Εὐπυρίδαι
Ἕρμιππος Πυθέου	Δωσίθεος Ἀντιγένου	Εὐκτίμενος Εὐκτιμέν(ου)
Εὔπολις Καλλιάδου	Ταυρέας Αἰσίμου	Κολωνῆς
Ξενοκράτης Ἀντιρήτου	Ποτάμιοι καθύπερθεν	Αἰσχύλος Πρωτομάχο(υ)
Σώστρατος Φιλοκήδου	Δημοφάνης Ἀρ[ι]στ[ο]-φάνου	Θεόδωρος Ἀμφιμάχου

Col. I

'Αρχιάδης 'Αρχίππου
Θρασυκλῆς Θράσωνος
Πυθόδωρος Δημ[ο]κλέους
Σμικρίας 'Επι[. . .ο]υ
[῾Υ]βά[δ]αι
Μενεστρατίδης ῾Ιπποστράτου
Λύκαιος Λυκαίου
Φρύνιχος Φρυναίου
῾Ηγίας ῾Ηγίου
'Απολλόδωρ[ος] Λυσιστρ[άτ]ου
Χολλεῖδαι
Λυσίστρατος Λυσικρ[ά]τους
Φί[. . .]ος Αἰσχύνου
'Αμύντης Σωδάμου
Ναῦσις Γνάθωνος
῾Εκαλεῖς
Λυσιφῶν Φιλί[σ]κου
Πήληκες
῾Ιεροκλῆς Φεί[δ]ωνος
Φιλῖνος Χαιρεστράτου
Κήττιοι
Λυσίστρατος Ε[ὐ]ξένου
'Αμφιτελίδης Φιλοκράτου
Σμίκυθος Ξενοκλέους
Σωσίστρατος Σω[σ]τράτου
Τιμόστρατος Τιμοκράτου
'Επικράτης Σπο[υ]δίου

Col. II

Αἰθαλίδαι
'Εξώπιος Φαιδρίου
Ποτάμιοι Δειραδιῶται
Πύρρος [Π]ανγκλέους
[Φ]ιλόφρων Πανγκλέ[ου]ς
[. . . .]μων Ξενο[κ]λ[έους
[Ε]ὔανδρος [Ε]ὐάν[δρ]ου
Σωσιγένης Σ̣ώ̣[σο]υ̣
Σουνιε[ῖς]
῾Ηγέ[στρατος Κλείππ]ου
Σωσικλῆς Σωσ[ιστ]ρά[τ]ου
Σωσίστρατος [Σωσισ]τ[ρά]του
Τ[ιμ]ήσιος Σ[ημωνίδ]ου
Ναυσίφιλος Κίμωνος
Διονύσιππος Εὐαγγέλου
Μειδωνίδης Περικλέους
'Αρχέδειπνος Νικοδήμου
Θάλλιππος Εὐαγγέλου
Δημοφῶν Εὐξένου
Δειραδιῶται
Λυσανίας [Μ]όλωνος
Λευκονοῆς
Φο[ρ]ύσκος Τιμο[κρ]άτους
Δήμαρχος 'Αριστάνδρου
Θαρρέας Σατύρου
Ξαιρεφῶν Καλλιστράτου
Καλλίστρατος Σωτέλου

Left Side

τού[σ]δε ἐστεφ[ά]νωσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι·

στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ χώραι	σωφρονιστὴν
in a circle	in a circle
Λεωσ(θ)ένην	Θυμοχάρην
Λεωσ(θ)ένου	Δημοχάρου
Κεφαλῆθεν	Λευκονέα
ἐπιμεληταὶ	διδάσκαλον

Right Side

τούσδε ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι·

στρατηγὸν ἐπ[ὶ] τῶι Πειραεῖ	στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ 'Ακτεῖ
in a circle	in a circle
Δικαιογένην	Φερεκλείδην
	Φερεκλέους
Κυδαθηναέα	Περιθοίδην
κοσμητὴν	ἐπιμελητὴν

Left Side		Right Side	
in a circle	in a circle	in a circle	in a circle
οἱ ἐν τοῖς [φ]ρουρίοις	Πυθα[..ca.. .6..]οκλέου Δεκελέα	Φιλοκλέα Φορμίωνος Ἐροιάδην	Νικόδωρον Φιλοθήρου Ἀχαρνέα

in a circle

Λυσίστρατον
Εὐξένου
Κήττιον

Front Face, line 1. The heading λοχαγοί runs across the width of the stone. Lines 2-5, the names and patronymics of twelve lochagoi. The names of 62 epheboi with patronymics (including the names of the twelve lochagoi) are arranged in three columns with deme names as captions which project from the margin of the columns, lines 6-41. Line 6. The deme name, Φρεάριοι, and following in the same line also in smaller letters, the name, Εὔπολις Καλλιάδου *vacat*, apparently overlooked in the first writing, have been inserted. Eupolis, son of Kalliades of Phrearrios was without question one of the lochagoi, since his name occurs again in the roster of epheboi of that deme (Col. I 12).

Left Side. Names of individuals in circles who were crowned by the epheboi, the strategos of the countryside, the sophronistes, epimeletai, the didaskalos, the ephebos named first in the roster of Kettioi (Col. I 36) but without other identification.

Right Side. Names of individuals in circles who were crowned by the epheboi, the strategos of the Piraeus, the strategos at Akte, the kosmetes, an otherwise unidentified epimeletes.

Prosopographia

Line 2 (Col. III 8). Hagnias, son of Makartatos, belongs to the well-known fourth century family of Bouselos of Oion. *Stemma* under *PA* 2921. Hagnias is perhaps to be identified with the son of Makartatos II who is mentioned in Dem. 43, 78. Ἁγνίας ἐξ Οἴου, one of the phylarchs who are honored in the period 286-261 B.C., is doubtless a member of the same family (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 18, 1963 (1964) I 110, No. 2, 27).

Line 2 (Col. I 9). Pasiphon, son of Pantenoros. The physician

Pasiphon, a witness in a trial 362/1, may be related (Dem. 30, 34). Pasiphon Phrearrios, secretary of the Boule ca. 413/12 (?) (*SEG* 17, 5, 1-2) and the strategos in Samos, perhaps the same man, were earlier members of the family (*IG* I² 304 a, 35).

Lines 3-4. Sosistratos, son of Sosistratos. He and his brother (?), line 5, Col. II 25, are both lochagoi. Sosistratos Sounieus was one of the phylarchs honored between 286 and 261 B. C. (See line 2, Col. III 8 above). Νικησίων Σωσιστράτου Σ. is the representative of Leontis in a college of ten men, their names arranged in the customary sequence of tribes *med. s. IV a.* (*IG* II² 2825, 4 Aristeus, son of Sosikles, Sounieus, appears as an ephebos in 102/1 (*IG* II² 1028, Col. III 138).

Line 4 (Col. II 35). Lysanias, son of Molon. His father and uncle seem to be named on a grave monument *med. s.* IV *a.*,-- [Λυ]σανίου / Δειραδιώτη[ς] / *duae rosae* / [Μ]όλων / [Λυ]σανίου / [Δει]ραδιώτης (*IG* II² 5970). Peek restored [Ἵ]π̣[πος] for the blank first name, Woodhead, [Χα]ι̣[ριμένης] on the basis of *IG* II² 2818, 6, dated 357/6 (*SEG* 13, 87). Cf. *PA* 9310 for a Lysanias, son of Aristokrites, Deiradiotes in *s.* II *a.*

Lines 4-5 (Col. II 37). Phoryskos, son of Timokrates. Kirchner identifies Φ.Τ.Λ. in a catalogue of Leontis in 360-50 B.C. as the grandfather (*IG* II² 2382, 9). A later descendant Τ.Φ.(?)Λ. appears in a catalogue of the prytaneis of Leontis (*Hesp.* 9, 1940, 112, No. 22, 29, *IG* II² 2434, 22) which should now be dated *post* 255/4 (*Hesp.* 32, 1963, 12, No. 9).

Line 5 (Col. II 27). Timesios, son of Simonides. Σ.Τ.Σ., secretary of the Boule in 272/1 (*Hesp.* 26, 1957, 54, No. 11, 4) whose name, as Meritt has shown, can be restored in *IG* II² 689, 2; 704, 3 and 816, 3-4, all of which must be dated in the same year, was perhaps the grandson of our ephebos. The father of our ephebos owned a mining lease *paullo post* 348/7 (*IG* II² 1582 B, 162) perhaps the same property of which he was recorded to have been the proprietor in an undated inscription (*Hesp.* 19, 1950, 236, No. 14, 11).

Line 6 (Col. I 12). Eupolis, son of Kalliades. The combination of names, Eupolis, the poet of Old Comedy, and Kalliades, the poet of New Comedy (*IG* II² 2325, 166) would seem to indicate that this ephebos came from a literary family. Kalliades of Phrearrios, prytanis of Leontis *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 1744, 9) was perhaps the father of Eupolis, but Matthieu opts for cousin (*Rev. Arch.* 55, 1929, 173).

Col. I 13. Ἀρίστων Ξενοκράτου [Λεω]ντίδος φυλῆς was a victor in the Theseia 149/8 (*IG* II² 958, 70).

Col. I 14. Sostratos, son of Philokedes. His father may be recognized among the diaitetai of 325/4. Philokedes (*IG* II² 1926, 66) and his uncle, Φιλοκράτης Σωστράτου Φρεάρριος, among the diaitetai of 329/8 (*IG* II² 1925, 5-6). The latter was the didaskalos or other ephebic official for the epheboi of Pandionis in 332/1 (?) (No. 10, p. 34 line 8). Among his relatives are: Stratios, son of Sostratos, Phrearrios, and the sister of Stratios, Archestrate (*IG* II² 7731); Philokrates, son of Philokomos, Phrearrios, *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 7733); Autokleides, son of Sostratos, Phrearrios, secretary of the treasurers of Athena 412/11 (*IG* I² 249, 228-229; 250, 245; 288, 203); 413/12 (*IG* I² 273, 167; 287, 177-178); Sostratos, son of Olympiodoros, Phrearrios, prytanis of Leontis *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 1744, 6-7) and Olympiodoros, son of Phanias, Phrearrios ca. *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 7728).

Col. I 17. The Demokles Phrearrios in Isaeus 5, 5, 9 is perhaps related.

Col. I 22. The father may be Phrynaios Hybades, trierarch 360/59 (*IG* II² 1622 f, 764).

Col. I 27. Φι[λ...]ος Αἰσχύνου is the way Leonardos prints the name, indicating plus or minus two and one-third letters where I have printed three dots. Leonardos' restoration could support the connection of Philippos Cholleides with the name of our ephebos. Philippos Cholleides is mentioned by Diog. Laert. 3, 41 among the legatees in Plato's will. The restoration of the name seems rather to call for Φιλεῖνος.

Col. I 28. His father, Σώδα[μο]ς Χολλείδης was one of the diaitetai of Leontis in 325/4 (*IG* II² 1926, 60). A later relative (*s.* II *a.*) is Krinion, daughter of Amyntas, Cholleìdes (*IG* II² 7801).

Col. I 29. Nausis, son of Gnathon. His father Gnathon was diaitetes in 325/4 (*IG* II² 1926, 57). The only other occurrence of the name Nausis is in an inscription dated 347/6 which records a gift of clothing made by him (*IG* II² 1514, 17 and 1515, 9). An offering to Asklepios by Gnathon is noted in the inscription of 247/6 (*IG* II² 1534, 204).

Col. I 33. The father or grandfather, 'Ι.Φ.Π., was prytanis of Leontis *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 1742, 77-78).

Col. I 36. Lysistratos, son of Euxenos, Kettios, is the same man who is honored by a crown without a caption in this inscription

(Left Side, 11-13). I think that he is in all likelihood the taxiarch of the epheboi who is specifically honored by title in the inscriptions of 333/2 (No. 5, p. 16; No. 9, p. 25 Col. I 21 and Col. II 15; cf. also p. 48). It is equally possible that Lysistratos was honored for victory in a contest or for acting as gymnasiarch or agonothetes in one of the games, but there is no parallel to support this possibility in the inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. The prytanis of Leontis from Kettos in 222/1, [Εὔ]ξενος, is related (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 82, No. 36, 95; cf. *IG* II² 848 b and for date, Pritchett-Meritt, *Chron.* p. xxiv) as is Euxenos, son of Lysistratos, Kettios on a gravestone *s.* II *a.* (*IG* II² 6388).

Col. I 37. Amphitelides, son of Philokrates, Kettios. Amphiteles, son of Amphitelides was prytanis of Leontis *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 1742, 4). Epheboi of Leontis with the name or father's name, Philokrates, appear in 143/4: Φ.Φ. (*IG* II² 2090, 77; 209/10-211/12, Φ. Τειμοκράτους (*IG* II² 2207, 5); 239/40, [- - -Φ]ιλοκράτους (*IG* II² 2239, 140).

Col. I 38. Smikythos, son of Xenokles. The father of an ephebos, deme unknown of the tribe Leontis, [Σμι]κύθου (No. 9, p. 27 Col. III 7) may be of the same or a related family.

Col. II 12. Taureas occurs only here in inscriptional texts. For Taureas Kydathenaieos, well-known from literary sources see *PA* 13429 and compare stemma *PA* 828.

Col. II 16. The uncommon name Exopios, the owner of mining property in 367/6 (*Hesp.* 10, 1941, 16, No. 1, 43-44 and 62) may represent the father or grandfather. Kirchner thinks that the Phaidrios in Xen. *Hell.* 2, 32, one of the Thirty Tyrants, was a Leontid (*PA* 13937) in which case Phaidrios here may be connected.

Col. II 18. [Παγ]κλῆς Πύρρου Ποτάμιος on a grave stele, *s.* IV *a.*, is perhaps the father (*IG* II² 7269). The councillor of Leontis, *post med. s.* IV a., Πύρρος [Εὐθ?]υμάχου Π., is related (*IG* II² 1752, 27).

Col. II 19. [Φ]ιλόφρων Παγκλέ[ου]ς, a brother of Pyrros. Leonardos (l. c. p. 90) and others believe that they were cousins. Matthieu (l.c., p. 176 with stemmata) thinks that Philophron took the name of a maternal grandfather (*IG* II² 5524) since his mother was the daughter of Philophron Halieus (*IG* II² 7269) and that the two epheboi were brothers.

Col. II 22. Σωσιγένης Σ̣ώ[σο]υ may be restored from Σήραμβος Σώσου Δειραδιώτης (*IG* II² 5973; cf. 5974, dated *init. s.* II *a.* and *s.* I *a.* ?). Sosigenes, son of Sosikrates from the tribe Leontis,

winner of the pankration at the Theseia ca. 158/7 (*IG* II² 957, 37-38) and the hippeus, Sosigenes of Leontis in the Pythais of 128/7 (*F. de D.* III 2, 34, No. 27 I 30) may be related.

Col. II 25-26. Brothers according to Matthieu (l.c. p. 176) with whom I agree; according to Leonardos (l.c. pp. 85 and 90), cousins-german. They were members of the same family as Nikesios, son of Sosistratos, Sounieus who was a member of a College of Ten (*IG* II² 2825, 4 and [Σω]σίβιος Σωσικλέους Σουνιεύς, prytanis of Leontis in *med. s.* III *a.* (*IG* II² 2435, 5; cf. *Hesp.* 9, 1940, 113, No. 22, 7).

Col. II 28. A Kimon Sounieus is recorded as a lease holder *med. s.* IV *a.* (*Hesp.* 19, 1950, 213, No. 5, Fgt. a, Col. II 19).

Col. II 29. 32. The two epheboi with the same patronymic are very likely not brothers, since their names do not follow in sequence. But the two sons of Sosistratos (Col. II 25-26)—if brothers, as I think they are—are listed together in the roster of epheboi and apart in the listing of the lochagoi. In contrast, the sons of Pantenor are listed together both among the lochagoi and the epheboi (lines 2-3 and Col. I 9-10) which may account for the fact that Matthieu (l.c. p. 173) thinks that they are twins! The two lochagoi who are sons of a father named Antigenes are from different demes (Col. II 8. 11) and their names are, of course, separated both among the lochagoi (lines 3-4) and among the epheboi. Dionysippos is not found elsewhere. Thallippos is found in only one other place (*IG* II² 12936, dated in the period 365-40 B.C.) and the name there, spelled with one lambda, must be connected in relationship with our ephebos.

Col. II 39. The name Tharreas is a variant of Tharrias and occurs only here. His older brother was doubtless the ephebos in 333/2, Θαρσύνων Σατύρου Λευκονεύς (No. 9, p. 27 Col. II 35). Of the same family is Satyros of Leukonoe, secretary of the Hellenotamiai in 443/2 and 442/1 (*IG* I² 202, 36; 203, 2).

Col. II 40. In a roster of prytaneis of Leontis *med. s.* III *a.* occurs the name Θεοχάρης Χαιρ[εφῶντος] of Leukonoe (*Hesp.* 9, 1940, 113, No. 22, 32, *IG* II² 2434, 25). Kallistratos of Leontis was a casualty in 403/2 (Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 27). The name Kallistratos appears as the name of an ephebos in 190/1-191/2 (*IG* II² 2113, 88), father of an ephebos in 152/3 (*IG* II² 2102, 33), and member of the genos of Amynandridai in 27/6-18/7 (*IG* II² 2338 b, 29) all of the tribe Leontis. See also the next entry.

Col. II 41. Kallistratos, son of Soteles. Alkimedon, son of Soteles, Leukoneus, attested from the period 360-350 B.C. (*IG* II^2 2382, 11) is perhaps an uncle, one of whose descendants, Soteles, son of Alkimedon, Leukoneus, was councillor of Leontis post 258/7 (*Hesp.* 9, 1940, 113, No. 22, 31, *IG* II^2 2434; cf. *SEG* 19, 179). Matthieu (l.c. p. 177) agrees with Leonardos (l.c. p. 92) that Chairephon, son of Kallistratos and Kallistratos, son of Soteles, were probably cousins-german. The name and patronymic, without further identification, Chairekrates, son of Soteles, appears in *IG* II^2 1642, 26. 28 (new text by A.M. Woodward, *BSA* 57, 1962, p. 13, lines 26. 28) dated *med. s.* IV *a.* The knight Kallistratos who lost his life in 403/2 belonged to the tribe of Leontis (Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 27).

Col. III 9. Straton, son of Stratonides. He may be related to Straton (*PA* 12967), the relative of Polemon, son of Hagnias of Oion. Straton appears as a name in the ephebic rosters of Leontis in the late Imperial Period,—ca. 207/8 (*IG* II^2 2199, 87) and ca. 239/40 (*IG* II^2 2239, 124. 130).

Col. III 13. Αἰσχύλος ἐκ Κολωνοῦ appears on a gravestone *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 6512) but D.M. Lewis (*BSA* 50, 1955, 15) thinks that the two names are not connected. Protomachos is known as the name of a general from Xen. *Hell.* 1, 5, 16 and Diod. 13, 74, 1.

Col. III 14. The name Theodoros from tribe Leontis occurs in later ephebic lists: *post med. s.* II *p.* (*IG* II^2 2084, 13); 155/6, (*IG* II^2 2068, 84); *paullo ante* 190/1, deme Kolonos, (*IG* II^2 2122, 25); 254/5, deme Kolonos, (*IG* II^2 2245, 143).

Left Side

Col. I 4-6. Leosthenes, son of Leosthenes, of Kephale, was the general in the Lamian War 323-322 B.C. *PA* 9142 and 9144 refer to the same man, who is now known to be the son of *PA* 9141. Cf. Geyer, *RE* 12, 2, 2059-62, Nos. 1 and 2; Leonardos, l.c. pp. 93-96; Matthieu, l.c. pp. 161-62; Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, p. 129. In inscriptions he appears here and as a contributor to the outfitting of naval vessels in 324/3 (*IG* II^2 1631 d, 500) and in 323/2 through his heirs (l.c., lines 601-2. 606). He died in the winter of 323/2 as a result of a wound in the head which he suffered in an attack upon Antipater whom he held under siege in Lamia. After he was elected general by the 8000 mercenaries at Tainaron (Diod. 17, 111, 3) the Athenians asked him to undertake the war against the Macedonians at which time he was presumably formally elected strategos by the

people of Athens, although we have no record of it. His wife is mentioned in the records of the *curatores Brauronii* ca. 343/2 (*IG* II² 1529, Col. I 11; 1524 B, Col. II 203; 1523, Col. II 29).

Col. I 7. The exceptional nominative, ἐπιμεληταί, among all the accusatives of the other officials who are honored is explained: 1) that οἱ ἐπιμεληταί crown Lysistratos and the didaskalos (Leonardos, p. 98, Col. I 96, 7-9; 9-10; Col. II 96, 11-13); Lysistratos only (Roussel, *BCH* 54, 1930, 281); 2) that an error was made and that ἐπιμελητὰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις should be read (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, p. 130). I quite agree with the last explanation, since the caption, τού[σ]δε ἐστεφ[ά]νωσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι on the Left Side obviously applies to all the titles and names under it as it applies to all those on the Right Side. Once the initial mistake of one letter was made, the iota of the nominative for the sigma of the accusative, the οἱ of the prepositional phrase closely attached to the title would easily follow without check. The arrangement of the circle containing the name Lysistratos midway between the two circles above it precludes Leonardos' application of ἐπιμεληταί to Lysistratos and much less to the didaskalos whose crown is parallel to the crown containing οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις. The explanatory οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις distinguishes these epimeletai from the single epimeletes who is honored on the Right Side, Col. II 7-10, and permits the vague conclusion that they had general supervision of the forts at Oropos (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, p. 131). For the later epimeletai at Oropos, cf. Roussel, l.c. pp. 279-81).

Col. II 4-6. The sophronistes Thymochares was related to Demosthenes,—according to Leonardos, pp. 97-98, the son of Demochares II, son of Laches I, of Leukonoe (*PA* 3716) and the sister of Demosthenes; according to Matthieu (l.c. p. 165), the second son of another Demochares of Leukonoe who married the maternal aunt of Demosthenes, which made Thymochares the cousin-german of Demosthenes and the brother-in-law of Demosthenes' sister. (Cf. *PA* 3597 and Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*² IV 2, p. 445). The lessee of mining property *s.* IV *a.* (*Hesp.* 19, 1950, 235, line 94; cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 62, 1937, 11, No. 12) and the Thymochares in a *ratio centesimarum* record *fin. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 1601, 30), may be the same individual.

Col. II 7-10. The five and one-half letters which Leonardos indicates as missing between the end of the fragmentary name, Πυθα[---, and the beginning of the fragmentary patronymic,]οκλέου, are not enough to supply the name Πυθάρατος from the

patronymic of the bouleutes, Dionysodotos of Decelea ca. 335/4 (*IG* II² 1700, 176-77).

Lines 11-13. Lysistratos, son of Euxenos, Kettios is the first ephebos named under Kettioi (Col. I 36). He may have been honored for an athletic victory or for acting in the capacity of agonothetes or gymnasiarch. I think it much more likely, as I stated above, that he was the taxiarch of the ephebic tribe of Leontis.

Right Side.

Col. I 4-6. The patronymic of Dikaiogenes, of a well-known family of Kydathenaion. Menexenos, is unaccountably omitted here (*PA* 3776 and see stemma under *PA* 3773). He was strategos 325/4 (*IG* II² 1631 b, 214-215, τῶι ἐπ[ὶ τῶι Πειραεῖ]) and in 324/3 (l.c. lines 380-81, ὁ στρατηγός). His sepulchral monument set up by his wife, is extant, Δικαιογένης Μενεξένου Κυδαθεναιεύς (*IG* II² 6569).

Col. II 4-6. The strategos at Akte, Φ.Φ.Π., is known to have been crowned by the soldiers under his command in an unknown year from an inscription found at Rhamnous (Pouilloux, *La Forteresse*, 114, No. 4, 5-8, *IG* II² 2968). At that time he must have been strategos of the countryside and consequently he was general at least twice. Pouilloux dates the inscription ca. 333/2. He is known also from the Attic Manumission Lists ca. 330-320 B.C. (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 218, Col. V 466-67; 470-71; 474-75).

Col. I 7-10. The kosmetes, Philokles, son of Phormion, Eroiades, has been identified with the general Philokles (Treves, *RE* 19, 2, 2489-91, No. 4). But the father and deme of the general are not known and are given by Treves, "Sohn des Phormion aus dem Demos Eroiadai" only on the assumption that he is the same man as the kosmetes here, and on the statement in Dein. 3, 15 that the general was dismissed ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμελείας. In 3, 1 Deinarchos speaks of Philokles as strategos in Munichia; in 3, 13, as in charge of the harbors and docks at Akte and then goes on to write in 3, 15: ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἅπας οὔτ' ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε δίκαιον νομίζων εἶναι παρακαταθέσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἀπεχειροτόνησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμελείας. This identification has aroused a great deal of discussion. The decisive point for me is that if the kosmetes was deprived of his office within the year of the epheboi of this inscription for his part in the Harpalus affair while he was general in

Munichia in 325/4 (the hypothesis adopted by Leonardos, pp. 96-7. 100, Matthieu, l.c. p. 164, and of Colin, *REG* 39, 1926, 44), it is inconceivable that he should have been voted an honorary crown by the epheboi unless he had been acquitted and restored to his position as kosmetes before the end of the ephebic year (beginning Boedromion, end Metageitnion). We do not know the outcome of the trial with certainty. The belief that Philokles was condemned and exiled rests on Dem. *Epist.* 3, 31-32, an outcome which, although F. Blass (*Att. Beredsamkeit*² 3, 2, p. 293) considered the letter apocryphal, I hold with Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, p. 141) was more probable than acquittal. Now it is possible, as the reconstruction of Pélékidis (p. 142) shows, that suspension, condemnation, exile, pardon and restoration could have taken place within the ephebic year, between Boedromion 324 and Metageitnion 323. Possible, but did it ? There is some evidence for his condemnation and exile. There is none for his acquittal or for his return to Athens and his restoration to the position of kosmetes other than this inscription itself and the assumed identification of the general and the kosmetes. Indeed Dem. *Epist.* 3, 31 implies that Philokles the general did not return to Athens at this time. We return, therefore, to this inscription as the sole basis for the ascription of the patronymic and deme of Philokles the kosmetes to Philokles the general whose name, as Gomme (*Population*, p. 68) points out, is very common.

That Philokles was deprived of his strategia as Deinarchos states is not unlikely. Pélékidis has adduced telling arguments against the authenticity of the speech but, as he points out, they do not necessarily invalidate its factual content (*Éphébie*, pp. 137-38). Both Gomme (*Population*, p. 68, Note 1) and Pélékidis (p. 135) make it abundantly clear that ἐπιμελεία τῶν ἐφήβων is not a technical expression applicable only to the kosmetes, but used generally of the sophronistes, epheboi, their didaskaloi, their officials, phylarchs and taxiarchs. Moreover, the Deinarchos passage when recounting Philokles' removal from office deals with it entirely in connection with his generalship in Munichia (Akte) which did involve the epimeleia of the epheboi entrusted to his supervision without any suggestion of any other office. For a fuller discussion of the problem, see pp. 73-76 following.

The kosmetes, Φ.Φ.Ε., can be identified with the trierarch in 323/2 (*IG* II² 1631 c, 444).

Col. II 8-10. The epimeletes, N.Φ.'A., I should identify as one of the epimeletai of the penteteric festival which was established by law in 333/2 and very likely the chairman of the group (*IG* VII *Addenda* 4253, 10-12). In 329/8 ten epimeletai, including the most prominent men of the day were honored ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμελείαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ 'Αμφιαράου. Nikodoros was very likely the head of a similar committee in the year of this inscription and the archon of that name in 314/3 (*PA* 10878).

The Date

Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, pp. 138-143) has discussed the date of this inscription with acumen and in detail. The difficulties of precision are best reflected in the various dates he suggests: p. 120, *vers* 330-322; p. 127, *soit entre* 329/8 *et* 336 *soit de* 324/3; p. 138, 329/8-326/5; p. 139, "between the recovery of Oropos by the Athenians and the year before the death of Leosthenes, 324/3"; pp. 142-43, within the ephebic year, Boedromion 324-Metageitnion 323, but it is "much more probable that the inscription is not to be dated 324/3." Gomme (*Population*, p. 69) thinks that 327/6 or 326/5 are likely dates. Leonardos (pp. 96-7 and 100), Matthieu (l.c. p. 162, note 6) and Roussel without comment (l.c. p. 280) date it in 324/3. Complications are introduced by the attempt to identify the general Philokles with the kosmetes of this inscription. Obviously the year must be one in which Leosthenes, son of Leosthenes of Kephale was general of the countryside, Dikaiogenes, son of Menexenos, of Kydathenaion, general at the Piraeus and Pherekleides, son of Pherekles, of Perithoidai, general at Akte.

Unfortunately such a year cannot be determined, since the dates when these men held the strategia are not otherwise known with certainty. Leosthenes had been instrumental in bringing the Greek mercenaries from India to Greece, whether as strategos we do not know (Paus. 1, 25, 5; 8, 52, 5), and was subsequently elected by those assembled at Tainaron as their general (Diod. 17, 111, 3). The Athenians voted him 50 talents and a supply of weapons to proceed against Antipater, at first apparently without official appointment or election as strategos of the Athenians. That he was very shortly thereafter (324/3) elected general while Demosthenes, with whom he was closely associated, was seeking allies against the Macedonians seems a reasonable assumption. When the death of Alexander in June 323 was ascertained with certainty

in Greece, he was made general of the allied Greeks in the Lamian War. Dikaiogenes was general in Piraeus in 325/4 (*IG* II^2 1631 b, 214-15) and again without specification of post in 324/3 (*IG* II^2 1631 c, 381). Pherekleides is known to have been general in a year other than that of this inscription, very likely of the countryside, by a text from Rhamnous (Pouilloux, *La Forteresse*, 114, No. 4, 5-8, *IG* II^2 2968, 6).

There is, however, additional evidence bearing upon the date of this inscription. In the publication by Mitsos (No. 1, p. 1) of an ephebic inscription which is dated in the archonship of Nikophemos 361/0, we have the first inscriptional proof for the existence of the ephebia before 334/3. The inscriptions of the period 334/3-330/29 do not, then, in the explanation so long accepted, reflect a new institution brought into existence to counteract the defeat at Chaeronea, but they reflect rather the buoyant spirit of Athens to use an old institution more effectively in order to restore its lost leadership of Greece. The immediate stimulus is not the defeat, but the recovery of Oropos in the settlement of 338/7 which in a unique way revived the hope of regaining their old hegemony in spite of the defeat.

By its ethnic antecedents and its geographical position Oropos was at various times subject to Eritrea, Thebes and Athens. For the longest period, however, and during the years of the city's greatest glory, beginning in 506 (Hdt. 5, 77; 6, 101)—except for a brief independence, 411-402, and a nine-year period of Theban control, 395-387—it was a part of Attica. In a peculiar sense the frontier town was a symbol of the long period of Athenian hegemony in Greece. The return of this town to Athenian control gave rise to a new spirit of optimism and a fillip to Athenian morale out of all proportion to its actual importance. To make its power more effective the ephebia was given new importance. It was at this time perhaps that service for two years was made continuous throughout the period for all young men. The epheboi were sent in a body to do guard duty at the frontier posts, Rhamnous, Eleusis and Phyle in particular, visible evidence that Athens intended to protect and maintain her boundaries. The increased ephebic activity is clearly attested in the inscriptions of this period.

The new feeling of national exuberance is particularly noticeable at the shrine of Amphiaraos near Oropos, as shown by the Attic decrees concerning it (*IG* VII 4252-4255). In 332/1 the Athenians

voted a crown of 1000 drachmai to the hero Amphiaraos because of his care for τῶν ἀφικνουμένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐφ' ὑγιείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ (4252, 14-17). On the same day and in the same year a crown of ten drachmai was decreed to Phanodemos who had been responsible for a law which provided that the festival at the Amphiaraion should be made the most magnificent penteteric festival possible and for providing means for such a festival and for the rebuilding of the shrine. *IG* VII *Addenda* 4253, 10-17:

> ... ἐπειδὴ Φανόδημος Θυμαιτάδης καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως νενομοθέτηκεν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, ὅπως ἂν ἥ τε πεντετηρὶς ὡς κάλλιστα γίγνηται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ πόρους πεπόρικεν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ...

Games had been celebrated at the shrine of Amphiaraos while it was under Theban control immediately before Chaeronea, 366-338 B. C. Whether they were held at four-year intervals or not, we do not know. A victor's list shows that musical, gymnastic, equestrian and apobatic contests took place and that athletes from Athens, other Greek cities, Macedonia and even Cyrene participated (*IG* VII 414).

The festival celebration at the Amphiaraion in 329/8 is known from *IG* VII 4254. It was held with eclat under the supervision of a distinguished committee of ten epimeletai which included Lycurgus himself, Demades, Kephisophon, the archon of 329/8, Sophilos, the general, and Phanodemos who had proposed making the penteteric festival a notable one and had furnished money to make the first such celebration possible. The epimeletai were awarded a crown of 10 drachmai for themselves and a hundred drachmai for the sacrificial victims. The payment of these sums was given priority over other expenditures (lines 40-41). The supervisor of the games was voted 30 drachmai.

The third celebration of the penteteric festival instituted by the law of Phanodemos in 332/1 and apparently held with great pomp in that year, fell in 324/3. It has already been noted that the epheboi were present at Rhamnous in a body in 333/2 as well as in the two following years. A monument set up by a native of Rhamnous records that he was crowned in these three years by the epheboi, their sophronistai and their kosmetai (No. 11, p. 39).

From the dedication to Hermes it may be inferred that the honor was connected with the generosity of the Rhamnousian in organizing the games, furnishing oil or prizes for them. The epheboi, of course, engaged in athletic and religious activities on each of their annual visits. The penteteric celebration would be a special occasion.

The epheboi of Pandionis set up a monument in Rhamnous (with more likelihood than in Sounion which the catalogue of the Museum gives as an alternate find place) ca. 333/2. In it they record the honors which were voted to them not only by the people of Rhamnous, but by the inhabitants of the demes in which other frontier posts were situated, Eleusis and Phyle (No. 10, p. 34).

The elaborate monument of the epheboi of Leontis with which we are concerned here, we may be sure, I think, was set up in the penteteric year 324/3. It is, to be sure, possible that the two inscriptions of Leontis should trade years. This is, however, less likely, since Dikaiogenes is known to have been, and Leosthenes was very probably general in 324/3. It would seem that some special occasion was responsible for setting up the monument here.

Epheboi of One or Both Years ? Brothers ?

I do not think anything can be added to the discussion of the question whether this inscription contains the names of the epheboi of both years or of only one, and in that case, of which one (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, pp. 143-47). True, we do not have the name of the archon preserved here, but they were doubtless, as is always otherwise the case, identified as οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ name ἄρχοντος. As was pointed out above (p. 17) each of the 42 age-classes of men available for military service was designated by the name of one of a cycle of 42 eponymous heroes. An alternative designation for epheboi was the name of the archon under whom they had registered in the deme upon becoming 18 years of age. Unless the names of two archons are given, the epheboi are the epheboi of one year. Although the usual designation of the epheboi as the epheboi under one archon is lacking here, I think we have here the epheboi of the second year.

The four pairs of names with identical patronymics and demes whose names are in immediate sequence in the roster may be twins or cousins. (Gomme's statement, *Population.* p. 69, Note 2, "One pair have the same name as well as the same father's name and

deme" is certainly a slip.) I myself feel that all four pairs represent brothers (and not all twins), since in the roster the names stand together. Obviously there is no positive proof for either position. The last two of the four (Col. I 7-8, 9-10; Col. II 18-19; 25-26) stand apart in the list of lochagoi and may be cousins. A fifth pair, Dionysippos and Thallippos with the same patronymic and demotic (Col. II 29, 32) are separated and I feel that they are not brothers. For a possible explanation of brothers in this roster, see Reinmuth, *TAPA* 79, 1943, p. 215.

Philokles, Strategos at Munichia and Philokles, Son of Phormion, Kosmetes, — the Same Man?

The most recent discussion of the question (Jonathan A. Goldstein, *The Letters of Demosthenes*. New York and London, 1968. Appendix VII pp. 276-81; 37-63; and *passim*) ends in an affirmative conclusion. But there is no new evidence. The conclusion still rests on two assumptions, neither of which is capable of proof with the evidence now available. 1) Goldsmith interprets the words προκαταθέσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας and ἀποχειροτονεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμελείας in Dein. 3, 15 to refer to Philokles' duties as kosmetes and not as strategos. (we may leave aside the question of the authenticity of the speech ascribed to Deinarchus which Goldstein accepts and Pélékidis, (*Éphébie*, pp. 136-138, questions; it need not affect the validity of the facts reported.)

Even if Deinarchus were speaking of an ephebic magistracy, the words would not single out the kosmetes as the official referred to. The ephebic official to whom it was distinctively applied by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42, 2) and uniformly in the inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. is not the kosmetes, but the sophronistes as has been pointed out before (Gomme, *Pop.* 68; Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, 136-138). The verb is occasionally used of the didaskaloi (No. 9, Col. I 33-38). Mitsos supplies it to apply to the kosmetes No. 1, 19) and in No. 5, the sophronistes and the epheboi crown ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς the strategoi of the Piraeus and of the countryside, their sophronistes, the cadet taxiarch and lochagoi and do not even mention the kosmetes. Goldstein is led astray by giving the phrase "epimeleia of the epheboi" the connotation, "supervising the ephebes," (p. 277) which, of course, is not the central meaning.

Earlier in the speech Philokles is referred to only as strategos

at Munichia and the dockyards (3, 1) and as such it could very properly be said of him that he had been placed at the head of their (the Athenians') sons and charged with the care of the epheboi who at that time included all of the youngest soldiers. The natural interpretation of the passage is clearly that Philokles was removed from the office of strategos and except for the fact that the name Philokles occurs as kosmetes in No. 15, Right Side, no other interpretation would be suggested. The interpretion, then, needs confirmation from another source.

To prove that Philokles, the strategos, could have been kosmetes so far as chronological and other considerations are concerned would not confirm that he was. The proof of this proposition rests on another assumption: that Philokles was exonerated after his conviction within the year in which he presumably held office as kosmetes. For this there is no clear evidence.

Philokles the strategos was brought to trial for his part in the Harpalos' affair, convicted and "cast out" of the country (Dem. *Ep.* 3, 31). While admitting that conviction of such a crime would disqualify him from any office, Goldstein (p. 65) believes that he was "subsequently exonerated and *presumably* (italics mine) reinstated as *kosmetes*." (By a curious circularity of reasoning Goldstein and others make Philokles kosmetes solely on the basis of their identification of him with the Philokles of the Oropos inscription and then try to resolve a "contradiction" which they have themselves created between the evidence of the inscription and the evidence of Dem. *Ep.* 3, 31, which would make the holding of any office by Philokles impossible.)

But we may deduce from Dem. *Ep.* 2, Goldstein asserts, that he was "exonerated and presumably reinstated." The deduction is made from the repeated general statements in that Letter (1-2. 15-16. 26) that all those who were charged with receiving money from Harpalos had either been acquitted or reconciled with the Athenians except Demosthenes. That these all-inclusive generalizations were used for their rhetorical effect and not in the strictest accuracy of fact is indicated in *Ep.* 2, 21 where Demosthenes pleads that he too be made the beneficiary of a measure such as "you have already voted for the benefit of certain others (ἄλλοις τισίν"). Neither here, nor elsewhere, is Philokles or any other of those charged specifically named. Next to Demosthenes, Philokles who had admitted Harpalos while holding the high office of strategos

in Munichia would be held most responsible for the whole sordid affair and would, on balance, be the last to be considered for clemency. The deduction (repeated, p. 281, not as a deduction but as an asertion: "it can be shown from Dem. *Ep.* 2 ...;" cf. p. 56) from *Ep.* 2 that Philokles was later exonerated is far from established and is on the face of the known facts dubious. The further deduction that he was "perhaps" reinstated is a pure guess and has no foundation at all in any source document.

Thirdly, if Philokles was actually kosmetes in 324/3 and if he was deposed from that office within the year, this must have occurred, on Goldstein's reconstruction of the probable sequence of events so late in the year as to make his reinstatement in that office in time to be honored with a crown at its close unlikely.

His year as kosmetes would begin in Boedromion, 324. Is it likely that the people would elect him to this office if he was then under suspicion of having taken money from Harpalos ? If the answer is "no" the escape of Harpalos which apparently first aroused suspicion, must have taken place after his election as kosmetes. To allay the suspicion Demosthenes and Philokles and perhaps others as well joined in securing the enactment to put the investigation of the facts in the hands of the Areopagus (Dein. 1, 1. 8. 40; 3, 5). The Areopagus studied the evidence for six months before issuing its *apophases* (Dein. 1, 45) for which Goldstein (p. 48) suggests a *terminus post quem* of ca. Jan. 27 or March 24-28, on the basis of the production date of Timarchos' comedy *Delos*. The first of these dates would nicely fall into place as the approximate date of the expiration of the six months' period on the assumption that the matter was placed in the hands of the Areopagus in Boedromion, the first month of Philokles' putative term of office as kosmetes.

When the reports of the Areopagus appeared, let us say following Goldstein (pp. 47-48), in the last days of Anthesterion 323 (and of course the alternate date, ca. 24-28 March, would be even more telling for my argument), trials were at once instituted against the men named in them, apparently not concurrently but successively. Demosthenes is the first to be brought to trial and convicted (Dein. 1, 105-06. 113; Hyp. *Dem.* 6-7; Plut. *Dem.* 26, 2; 27, 6.) It appears that several other defendants were tried before Philokles was brought before the court, tried, convicted and cast out of the country (Din. 3, 14). How long these trials lasted is anyone's guess.

The earliest date for Demosthenes' trial would be Elaphebolion 323. After his conviction he was in prison five days. Anon. *Vit. Dem.*, W. S. Dobson, *Oratores Attici et quos sic vocant sophistae*, 1928, Vol. V p. cccliv), escaped, and from exile wrote *Ep.* 3. The letter was apparently written at the latest before the confiscation of Demosthenes' property which became forfeit at the end of the ninth prytany, Skirophorion 323, possibly somewhat earlier, prior to the spring meeting of the Delphic Amphictyony in the month that corresponds to Thargelion (Goldstein, 49-51). Since time must be allowed after the trial of Demosthenes for the trials of several other defendants before Philokles was brought to trial, a justified inference from Dein. 3, 14, the third epistle of Demosthenes could not have been wxitten much before the end of the ninth prytany in Skirophorion 323. At this time Philokles was still under condemnation and presumably still in exile, since there is no word of the exoneration of Philokles or of any of the other convicted men.

Philokles' term as kosmetes would have only a month and a half to run before the election of the kosmetes for 323/2 to take office in Boedromion. The procedure for overriding a conviction in order to secure exoneration involved two separate votes in an assembly of the people with a quorum of 6000, one a vote of immunity for proposing the measure to set aside conviction, the other for the passage of the measure proper (J. H. Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, 3 vols., 1905-1915, pp. 388-89. 963-46; G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 2 vols., 1905-1926, Vol. II ed. H. Swoboda. I 446; II 987. 989. 1001. 1167). The assumption that this elaborate procedure was actually carried out in the short period still remaining before the end of Philokles' assumed term of office, that he was successful in both, that he was reinstated, that he was honored with a crown, while, of course, not impossible, is in itself improbable, even if we had some reason — which we do not have—for believing that this is what actually took place.

Did the Epheboi of the First Year and the Epheboi of the Second Year Form Separate Bodies ?

Involved in the identification of the kosmetes of No. 15, Philokles, son of Phormion of Eroiadai and Philokles, the general, is a basic question concerning the organization of the ephebia in the fourth century B.C.

When an ephebic inscription honors the epheboi does it honor the

epheboi of both classes or of one class and to which year do the officials who are honored in the inscription belong ? When the epheboi are designated οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρχοντος it is clear from Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 53, 4-5 that the archon under whom they were enrolled is meant. This phrase, along with the name of one of a cycle of 42 eponymoi, was the official designation of that particular age-group of fighting men (cf. pp. 17.72). The year of that archon was the first year of their ephebic service.

The inscription itself, however, must date from the following year, since the epheboi were crowned at the end of their two-year period of service and because, among other things, they were commonly praised for their patrol duty at Eleusis and other frontier posts which they performed only during their second year. This phrase designating the epheboi of a particular year occurs or is reasonably restored in No. 2, 26. 52-53; No. 3, 2; No. 4, 1; No. 5, 1; No. 6, 1-2; No. 8, 1 (restored); No. 9, 10-11; and No. 11. In all likelihood it occurred in Nos. 10, 12 and 14 in which the heading has not been preserved. The normal practise then was to honor the epheboi of one class, the epheboi of the second year at the end of their ephebic service. (Goldstein's use of the expression regarding the ephebic inscriptions of this century, "end-of-the year commendations," op. cit. p. 280, is misleading unless one adds "of second-year epheboi" since there is no evidence for the commendation of the first-year epheboi at the end of the year, nor for the two classes as a whole.) Although No. 15 does not mention an archon, nor contain the phrase οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρχοντος there is no reason to doubt that it conforms to the norm. Only one official is named for each office and the lochagoi, who presumably were more prominent a part of the ephebic organization in their second year when they were actually in the field with the regular army, are singled out for mention in the heading. Principally on the assumption that the officials honored in an ephebic inscription were only those under whom the epheboi had served, Colin, Matthieu and Beloch held that the names of both ephebic classes were represented on No. 15 since the strategoi of the Piraeus are crowned along with the strategos of the countryside and in a given year one ephebic class would serve under either one or the other and not under both. (I pass over the ancillary arguments regarding the large number of epheboi from Leontis in this year, 62, and the fact that several sets of epheboi with identical patronymics and demotics ap-

pear who may have been brothers, arguments which I have considered elsewhere).

Gomme solved the problem by an explanation which at first sight seems consistent and credible: "The two classes of epheboi did not form one body; the first year served in the Piraeus, the second in forts from Eleusis to Rhamnous. They had different commanders, the first the two strategoi ἐπὶ τῷ Πειραιεῖ and ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀκτῇ (or τῇ Μουνιχίᾳ), the second the strategos ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ; different sophronistai and didaskaloi, and a different kosmetes. . . But if they are epheboi of two years, (referring to No. 15) half of them had nothing to do with Leosthenes, to the other half Dikaiogenes and Pherekleides were nothing; only half had been cared for by Philokles; the kosmetes of the other year with the sophronistes and the didaskaloi, remains unhonoured. The inscription recording the honours was set up in Rhamnous, where the epheboi of the first year had not yet served. Is it likely ? Is it not more probable that they are epheboi of one year, honouring at the end of their two years of service their generals of each year, their kosmetes, who was with them in their first year and the didaskalos, who had probably been with them all the time ?" (*Pop.* 67-68).

Under this explanation the epheboi listed in the inscription would be the second year class only and all the officials in it would be the officials of the same year, except the strategoi of the Piraeus under whom they had served in the previous year, the year of the archon under whom they had been enrolled. The principle would be consistently followed of mentioning only those officials under whom the finishing class had served and would explain the occurrence here of both the strategoi of the Piraeus and in four other inscriptions in which Konon, strategos in the Piraeus and Sophilos, strategos of the countryside, appear together (No. 4, 5, 8 and 9). It is a simple and consistent explanation and it may be the correct one.

I find it difficult to accept, however, for two reasons: one, I find little justification for the two assumptions on which it rests, — a) that the epheboi constituted two separate bodies, one the epheboi of the first year under the kosmetes and his staff and under the strategoi in the Piraeus; the other, the epheboi of the second year, under the strategos of the countryside with no connection with the kosmetes and his staff; and b) that the officials honored in an inscription are necessarily those under whom the epheboi of the finishing class served. Two (less important for the organization of

the ephebia, but no less cogent), it seems to me that No. 15 must be dated in 324/3, as I have argued above. If that is correct, on Gomme's theory, Pherekleides cannot have been the strategos at Munichia in 325/4, a post which in that year was unquestionably held by the general Philokles. It should be noted that this position has nothing to do with the putative identification of the general Philokles with the like-named kosmetes,—an identification which I reject as unproved and unlikely.

It seems to me that Aristotle's account—close to the time of the documents we are discussing — stresses the point that the ephebic program was a two-part program which continued for two years. It was a training program prerequisite for citizenship. It is in this connection that the ephebia is described. "The present form of the constitution is as follows. Citizenship belongs to persons of citizen parentage on both sides..." and then without so much as mentioning the ephebic organization he describes the method by which citizenship is achieved. The method is the organization. The unique feature is that the method involves, in addition to birth of Athenian parentage and registration in the deme, participation in a two-part program consisting of military training on the one hand, and on the other, an entirely new feature unheard of in the earlier experience of Athens or of any other country,—training and supervision in para-military gymnastics and athletics, and in the moral, civic and religious virtues for all young men who are to become citizens. So far as the military training per se was concerned it consisted of garrison duty at the Piraeus, φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνιχίαν οἱ δὲ τὴν 'Ακτήν, and patrol duty in the country, περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν, under the direct supervision and control of military officers. This part of the training did not essentially differ from similar training in other countries at all periods of history.

For the second part of the program an organization was set up under the direction of civilian officials, the kosmetes and his staff. It was their task to provide the supervision, control and training which the military part of the program did not provide for, the development of physical strength and agility, esprit de corps, and civic-mindedness. The whole rationale of the ephebic program was based on nothing so much as on the continuous association in instruction and training in both parts of the program. To assume that during their second year one-half of the epheboi had no connection with that part of the program under the kos-

metes and his staff and were continuously in the field with the other soldiers and subject only to the strategos of the countryside, is to misconstrue the main purpose of the ephebia. It is tantamount to making the ephebic program of one year's duration which, if Aristotle's account has any meaning, it was not. He makes no suggestion that the two classes are not under the jurisdiction of the kosmetes and his staff during both years of service, nor is there any hint that the strategos of the countryside superseded the civilian officials in providing the unique training the ephebia was meant to provide.

That the epheboi in the second year were on patrol in the countryside throughout the whole year, is by no means established. It would appear much more probable that they were sent, as military units commonly were, on "detached" service from the ephebic corps to serve for limited periods at various posts and returned to their "headquarters" in the intervals to resume their training there. That they lived in barracks of their own at the Piraeus and ate at common tribal messes the food for which was purchased by the sophronistai with funds provided by the state may indicate that their "headquarters" were here. In the field, they were of course quartered and provisioned at the frontier posts along with the soldiers there.

We have little information about the details of organization and of relationship which existed between the two parts of the ephebic program, the military and the non-military, between the ephebic corps and the army units with which they served, between their military and civilian commanders. It is reasonable to suppose that for the military part of the program the competence of the strategos of the countryside vis à vis the epheboi of the second year was of the same order as that of the strategoi of the Piraeus vis à vis the epheboi of the first year, and that the competence of the kosmetes for the non-military part of the program extended over the two year period during which the young men were epheboi.

One thing seems clear: both parts of the program were continued as a unified program for two years. The unity of the program and the unity of the body of trainees is reflected in the fact that after mentioning garrison duty at the Piraeus and patrol duty in the country, Aristotle summarizes, φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη, and by his concluding statement, "When the two years are up, they are now members of the general body of citizens."

The whole body of epheboi apparently appeared together on numerous public occasions,—parades, festivals and celebrations in Athens and elsewhere under the leadership of the kosmetes. One such occasion was certainly their appearance before an assembly of the people in the theatre at Athens where they gave a display of drill sometime during the second year of the program. Rhamnous and the shrine of Amphiaraos were par excellence rallying points for ephebic activity. The establishment of a penteteric festival at the Amphiaraion after Chaeronea in commemoration of the recovery of Oropos was closely associated with the revivication of the ephebia under Lycurgus and it is not accidental that several of the ephebic inscriptions from the period 333/2-324/3 were found here. (See pp. 34, 39, 51, 56, 58).

Unfortunately we do not know the duration of the term of office of the kosmetes and the other ephebic officials. The analogy of other offices in Athens would lead to the presumption that the administrative offices of kosmetes and of sophronistes, if not of the others also, were annual. If so, the staff of the ephebia would change each year and in their two years of service epheboi would have served under two different staffs. The military staff under which they served also changed from year to year.

There is no need to conjure up a "board of education" for this group of officials except in the informal sense that they were concerned with various aspects of ephebic training (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, pp. 144-45 and Goldstein's reference to this passage, op. cit. pp. 280-281, where he again wrongly implies that some ephebic inscriptions commended first-year epheboi). Their connection with the epheboi was by virtue of their office and not their persons; obviously their connection with some was closer than with others, — with their sophronistai than with their kosmetes or strategoi.

Under such circumstances, I should suggest that at the close of their two years of service, the epheboi honored in the customary inscription the incumbents of the respective offices with which epheboi had to do from didaskalos to kosmetes and strategoi. Some confirmation of this position, if I am correct in dating it in 324/3, is the fact that No. 15 lists Pherekleides as the strategos at Munichia in that year and not Philokles, as Gomme's theory would demand.

The demes Halimous, Kropidai and Paionidai are not represented in this complete inscription. Four demes are missing in the inscrip-

tion of Kekropis from Eleusis (No. 5, p. 16) and the same was very likely true in other tribal inscriptions.

In this list the unusually large number of names of known wealth and prominence is noteworthy. Unfortunately the patronymic and deme affiliations of most archons is not known, but a large percentage of the archons of this period are represented by names occurring here.

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16

(Plate XIX)

A ROSTER OF EPHEBOI BY TRIBES

Paullo ante 307/6 (?).

B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 33, 1964, 209, No. 54 and Pl. 33. Agora Inv. No. I 6509. Pl.

Fragment of a stele (?) of Pentelic marble with the left side preserved, but otherwise broken, found among collected stones east of the Odeion. H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.305 m.; Th. 0.193 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.; L. Int. 0.007 m.

Col. I

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. [- - -]ὺς Καλλίου Εὐωνυμεύς
[- - - -]ος Τιμοφῶντος Ἀναγυρ[άσιος]
[. . .]ητ[- - - - - - -]Ἀγρυλῆθεν
[Αἰγ]εῖ[δος]
[Φ]ιλόθεος [- - - - - -]εύς
Δημόνικος Χαιρίνου Ἰκαριεύς
Θεογένης Ἀντιγένους Φηγαιεύς
Φρύνων Ἀναξικράτους Φιλαΐδης
Λυκομήδης Σμικύθου Τειθράσιος
Δεξικράτης Ἡγησίου Ἐρχιεύς
[Π]ανδιονίδος
Καλλίας Φιλονίκου Κυδαθηναιεύς
[Λυ]κόφρων Λυκίνου Πρασιεύς
[- - - - - -] Δημοτέλους Μυρρινόσιο[ς]
[- - - - - - - - - -] Παιανιεύς

Col. II

Κεκ[ροπίδος]
Θρα[- - - - - - - - - -]
Νικο[- - - - - - - - - -]
Λεωχά[- - - - - - - -]
Ευκαδ[μίδης- - - -]
Χαιρικ[λῆς- - - - -]
Αἴας[- - - - - - - - - -]
Ἱππο[θωντίδος]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]

The inscription presents a problem in dating. Its format unmistakably places it in the period in which the editor dated it at the time of publication "*paullo ante med. saec.* III *a.*" For it follows the arrangement which occurs for the first time in 258/7 (*IG* II² 700 plus *Hesp.* 7, 1938, 110-114, No. 20) and is invariably found thereafter: names of the epheboi with patronymics and demotics are recorded by tribes without separate grouping by demes. In the tribal in scriptions of the fourth century, each tribe set up its own monument and inscribed the names of the epheboi under their respective deme names. In the earliest inscription hitherto known which lists the epheboi of all tribes on one stone, securely dated in 305/4 (No.

17, *IG* II^2 478) the grouping by demes under the tribal names is still followed as it is in the succeeding inscription of 266/5 (*IG* II^2 665) obviously a transition to the simpler form later adopted which omitted the deme captions.

Although the form is a very strong argument for a date in the middle of the third century, the editor recognized that the occurrence of the deme Kydathenaion under the tribe Pandionis (l. 12) would make a dating in the period 307/6-200/199 in which the deme was assigned to Antigonis an exception for which there is no supporting evidence. Moreover, as he pointed out, the prosopographical indications as well as the spelling Μυρρινόσιο[ς] instead of Μυρρινούσιο[ς] in line 14, suggest an earlier date than the middle of the third century. Accordingly, the editor later revised the date to "earlier than 307/6" (l.c. p. 336).

Since Kydathenaion is placed under Pandionis, the text must be dated either before 307/6 or after 200/199. Either dating presents difficulty. If before 307/6, the form and arrangement are an anachronistic intrusion in the clearly marked development in which the deme captions disappear in 259/8 when decreasing enrolments made them superfluous. Obviously enrolment was no longer obligatory at the time of this inscription and any causal connection between the relatively small number of epheboi and the 2000 drachma rating as a qualification for citizenship which Antipater imposed in 322/1 can be dismissed out of hand. I have shown elsewhere (p. 106 ff.) that the extant tribal inscriptions of the period 334/3-324/3 justify an estimate of ca. 490 epheboi as an average enrolment for these years. The total enrolment for the year of this inscription as indicated by six epheboi each in the complete rosters of the tribes Aigeis and Kekropis falls far below the most drastic effect conceivable of Antipater's new rating upon the number of epheboi. If then ephebic enrolment was voluntary before 307/6 it is positively amazing to find it reaching the figure of ca. 360 plus, a few years later in 305/4 (No. 17, *IG* II^2 478).

The reasons the editor found for his hesitance to date the text as late as "a little before the middle of the third century B.C." *a fortiori* would exclude a dating after 200/199. First the prosopographical indications which suggest an earlier date. He cites in connection with the Kallias of Euonymon in line 1, the same name and demotic on a gravestone *ante med. saec.* IV *a.* (*Hesp.* 23, 1954, 262, No. 64); a Hegesias of Erchia (cf. l. 10) from ca. 353/2

(*Hesp.* 28, 1959, 233, line 105= *IG* II^2 1558, 59); a Dexikrates of Erchia (cf. l. 10) on a gravestone *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 6104) and a Smikythos of Teithras (cf. l. 9) in 367/6 (cf. *Hesp.* 10, 1941, 16, No. 1, 15. 38). To which can be added, Kallias, son of Kallias of Euonymon from *post med. s.* IV *a.*, a dedicant to Asklepios (*IG* II^2 4442, 9-11), a Kallias of Euonymon, a cleruch in 361/0 (*IG* II^2 1952, 5; *AJP* 61, 1940, 195) and a Kallias of Euonymon, Hellenotamias in 410/9 (*IG* I^2 304 A 26); line 2, Timophon, son of Timostratos of Anagyrous on a gravestone *post med s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 5636); line 10, Hegesias, father of Nikoxenos of Erchia in the Attic manumission lists, ca. 330-20 B.C. (*Hesp.* 28, 1959, 228, line 105), Hegesias, son of Anthippos of Erchia on a gravestone *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 6112), Hegesias, son of Hegesippos of Erchia in *s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 3843, 1-3); line 12, a Kallias of Kydathenaion in 329/8 (*IG* II^2 1672, 164) and a [Καλλί]ας (?) son of Lykophron of Kydathenaion *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 1148, 2-6). The only other occurrences of two names in the list are early: Eukadmides (l. 20) appears as the proposer of a decree of the deme Kollytos, tribe Aigeis, *post med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 1195, 6) and Chairikles (l. 21) as treasurer of the Other Gods in 418/7 (*IG* I^2 370, 16). Aias (l .22), not clearly attested elsewhere, look archaic.

It is very unlikely that ο for ου in Μυριννόσιο[ς] (l. 14) would occur in the second century B.C.; nor can it here be explained *compendii causa* since squeeze and photograph show ample room between ν and σ for two letters.

I include this document among the ephebic inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. with considerable uncertainty.

17

(Plates XX — XXIX)

AN ANATHEMA FROM PIRAEUS OF THE EPHEBOI OF TWELVE TRIBES

305/4. Archon, Euxenippos.

IG II² 478.

Fragments of bluish marble, all of which are broken on all sides so that no margin is fixed. The thickness of all fragments is 0.10 m.

Fgt. *a*: *EM* 7274. H. 0.26 m., W. 0.17 m.
Fgt. *b*: *EM* 7267. H. 0.19 m., W. 0.24 m.
Fgt. *c*: *EM* 7265. H. 0.19 m., W. 0.23 m.
Fgt. *d*: *EM* 7276. H. 0.17 m., W. 0.19 m.
Fgt. *e*: *EM* 7273. H. 0.34 m., W. 0.235 m.
Fgt. *f*: *EM* 7275. H. 0.26 m., W. 0.26 m.
Fgt. *g* (Fgt. *m* joined below): *EM* 7271. H. 0.47 m., W. 0.23 m.
Fgt. *h* and i joined: *EM* 7269 and *EM* 7270. H. 0.37 m., W. 0.33 m.
Fgt. *k*: *EM* 7268. H. 0.16 m., W. 0.125 m.
Fgt. *l*: *EM* 7266. H. 0.25 m., W. 0.21 m.
L.H. 0.007 m.; lines 79 and 80, 0.01 m.; L. Int. 0.015 m.

There is a *vacat* of 0.10 m. above the first line of the decree. The overall dimensions can be only roughly estimated from the following measurements: H. of inscribed face (*vacat* 0.10 m.; 3 lines of fgt. *a*, 0.35 m.; from fgt. *b*, 0.19 m.; fgt. *c*, 0.155 m.; fgt. *e*. 0.235 m.; fgt. *g* plus *m*, 0.27 m.; *h* plus *i* 0.32 m.; gap between lines 113 and 116 of uncertain length; fgt. *l*. 0.15 m.; *vacat* 0.08 m.; below this a *vacat* of uncertain length), total 1.85 m. W. of inscribed lines of the decree, ca. 1.04 m.

The fragments were found in Piraeus (Phreattys) to the east of the old δεξαμενή (water reservoir) where there was probably at that time a shrine of Asklepios to judge from other inscriptions found there along with this inscription (*IG* II² 1328; 4586; and 4616).

vacat 0.10 m., 7 *lineae*

a

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 73

[Ἐπὶ Εὐξενί]ππου ἄρχοντο[ς ἐπὶ τῆς.......................⁴⁶.
........................]
[....⁸.... ἐ]γραμματεύεν [...........................⁵³....
........................]
[.... ἐκκλη]σία· τῶν προέδ[ρων ἐπεψήφιζεν.............²⁷...
.... καὶ συμπρόεδρο]-

[ι ἔδοξεν τεῖ] βουλεῖ καὶ τῶ[ι δήμωι. . . . .^{25}. . . . .
εἶ]π[εν ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι . .] b
[. . . .^{8}. . . . ἐπ]ιμελοῦνται ἐ[πιμελέαν πᾶσαν καὶ περὶ πάντα φιλοτ]-
ιμοῦν[ται ὅσα ἄν οἱ νόμοι αὐ]-
[τοῖς προστά]ττωσιν εὐτάκτ[ως καὶ διατελοῦσιν πειθόμενοι τῶι] τε
κοσμητ[ῆι καὶ τοῖς στρατ]-
[ηγοῖς περὶ τ]ἄλλα τὰ περὶ τὴ[ν φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν τοῖς δι-
δα]σκάλοις, δε[δόχθαι τεῖ βου]-
[λεῖ τοὺς προέ]δρους οἱ ἂν λ[άχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρώτην
ἐκκ]λησίαν χρημ[ατίσαι περὶ]
[αὐτοῦ, γνώμην] δὲ ξυμβάλ[λεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι
δοκεῖ τ]εῖ βουλεῖ ἐπα[ινέσαι το]-
[ὺς ἐφήβους το]ὺς ἐνγρ[αφέντας ἐπὶ Κοροίβο ἄρχοντος εὐταξίας
ἕνε]κα καὶ σωφροσύ[νης. .^{5}. . .]
[. . . . . .^{12}. . . . . .]υς[. . . . .^{34}. . . . . οἱ
ἔφηβ]οι οἱ ἐνγραφ[έντες . . . .]
[. . . . .^{43}. . . . . ἀκολουθότες]
[το]ῖς νόμοι[ς . . . .^{9}. . . . .]
[. . . . .^{56}. . . . .]οι
τὴν δη[. . . . .^{10}. . . . .]
[. . . . .^{52}. . . . . ἐπ-
αι]νέσαι δὲ [καὶ τὸν κοσμ]-
[ητὴν αὐτῶν. . . . .^{26}. . . . . καὶ τοὺς σωφρονιστὰς
αὐ]τῶν Ἀρκεσ[ίλαν Φίλωνο]-
[ς Παιανιέα Φιλαῖον Φίλωνος Ξυπεταιόνα, [. . . . .^{24}. . . . . .
. . . . . .]έα Ἀδείμ[αντον Εὐριπ]-
[πίδου (?) Μυρρινούσιον (?) . . . .^{40}. . . . .
. . . .] Φρεά[ρριον . . . . Θηρ]-
c [ιππίδου] Σφήτ[τιον . . . .^{44}. . . . .
. . . .]οτ[. . . . . .^{12}. . . . . .]
[. . . . .]του Ἀζ[ηνιέα . . . .^{55}. . . . .
. . . . φιλ]-
[οτιμί]ας ἕνεκ[α . . . .^{61}. . . . .
. . . .]
[. . . .]ην ἐπιμελ[. . . .^{61}. . . . . . .
. . . .]
[. . . .]ς καὶ τὸ λο[ιπὸν . . . .^{55}. . . . . . .
. . . . εὐ]-
[ρέσθαι κ]αὶ ἄλλο ἀγα[θὸν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. . . . .
. . . . ἐπ]-

[αιν]έσαι δὲ καὶ τ[οὺς . . . . 55 . . . .
. . . . τε]-
[ταγμ[ένοι ἐπὶ τὴ[ν . . . . 15 . . . .]ι[. . . . . 43 . . . . *e*
. . . .]
[. . . 5 . .] τὸν πα[ιδοτρίβην . . . . . 9 . . . .]εια[. . . . . 42 . . . . . .
. . . .]
[. . . . δ]ημο[. . . . . 20 . . . .] Ἀφε[.]στον Μ[. . .]ο[. . . .
. . . . 25 . . . . ἀναγράψ]-
[αι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόμα]τα τῶν ἐφήβων κατ[ὰ δή]-
μους καὶ πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ κοσμητο]- (72 letters)
d [ῦ καὶ τ]ῶν σωφρο[νίστων καὶ τῶν δι]δασκάλων τὸν γραμ[ματέα τὸν
κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃι λι]-
[θίνει] καὶ στῆσ[αι ἐν τῶι γυμνασί]ωι τῶν ἐφήβων, εἰς [δὲ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν τ]
[αμίαν] τοῦ δήμου [.δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν ε]ἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσ[ματα
ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι.]

vacat I *linea*

Col. I

[Ἀντ]ιγονίδο[ς]
[Σωφρ Ἀρκ]εσίλας Φίλωνος
[Παιανιεύς ?]

[Παι]ανιεῖς
[. . . ca. 7 . . . .] Δημοχάρου
[. . . ca. 6 . . .]Ξενοπείθο[υ]
[. . . ca. 6 . . .] Αὐτοκρ[ά]του
[Γαρ]γήττ[ι]οι
[. . . ca. 7 . . . .] Διο[νυσί]ου
[. . . ca. 7 . . . .]π[. . . ca. 6 . . .]του
[*demoticum*]
f [. . . . . . . ca. 15 . . . .]υ

Col. II

[Δημητ]ριάδος
[Σωφρ Φιλ]αῖος Φίλωνος Ξυπε-
(ταιών)

[Ἀτηνε]ῖς
[. . . . ca. 9 . . . . .]τοκλέους
[. . . . . ca. 10 . . . . .]τοκλέους
[. . . . ca. 9 . . . . . Π]ασιφῶντος
[. . . . ca. 9 . . . . .]οφίλου
[Κοθωκίδ]αι
[. . . . . ca. 11 . . . . . .] Ἡνιόχου
[Πόριοι]
[. . . . . ca. 10 . . . . . Ἱε]ρωνύ[μου] *e*
Η[. . . . . . ca. 12 . . . . . .]ιχ[——
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[*demoticum*]

Εὐθ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *f*
Διον[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Θεοδ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Col. I

vacat indeterminabile

43 [Πανδιονίδος]
[Σωφρ Ἀδείμαντος Εὐριππίδου? Μυρρι(νούσιος) ?]

vacat indeterminabile

45 [Κεκροπίδος]
[Σωφρ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

Col. II

[*demoticum*]
Χαρ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Λ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

69 [Λεωντίδος]
[Σωφρ - - - - - - - Φρεά(ρριος)]

71 [Ἱπποθωντίδος]
[Σωφρ - - - - - του Ἀζ(ηνιεύς)]
[Ἁμαξαντε]ύς l
[- - - - - - -ή]μονος
75 [Ἀνα]ḳαι[εῖς] ?
[- - - - - -]πίνο[υ]
77 [Ἐλαι]ούσιοι
[- - - - - - - - - - -] Διονυσίου
[- - - - - -ΒΑΤ]ΡΑΧΟ[Υ] ΚΗ-ΦΙΣΙ *vacat*
80 [- - - - - - - - - -]ΆΜΦΙΝΟΥ ΚΥ-ΘΗΡ *vacat*

vacat 0.08 m.

Col. III

81 [Ἐρεχθεΐδος
e Σω[φρ - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[*demoticum*]
Χ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
85 Ṃ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
g [. . ca. 5 . . .]ης Δ[- - - - - - - -
[. . . . μ]αχο[ς - - - - - - - - - -
90 [Ἀγ]ρυλ[ῆθεν]
[. . ca. 5 . . .]έων Ἀν[- - - - -
[Εὐ]ωνυμε[ῖς]

Col. IV

143 [Αἰγεῖδος]
[Σωφρ- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
145 [*demoticum*]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[*demoticum*]
150 [. . 5 . .]ιο[- - - - - - - - - - - - k
[Κ]αλλισθέν[ης] - - - - - - - -
[Ἀ]θηνόδωρος - - - - - - - - -
[Ἀ]ριστοκράτ[ης]- - - - - - -
[Μ]εγακλῆς Εὐ]- - - - - - - -

Col. III

[. . ca. 5 . . .]ετος Ἐπιτ[έλους]
[. . ca. 5 . . .]ένης Σωσι[- - -
[. . . . δ]ημος Ἀρχεσ[τράτου]
[. . ca. 5 . . .]σιος Ἀμεινο[- -
[Λυσίθ]ẹος Λυσιμένọ[υς]
[. . ca. 5 . . .]ων Ἀλεξιμάχο[υ]
[. . ca. 5 . . .]ιος Διοσκουρίδο[υ]
[Καλλία]ς Καλλιστράτου
[. . ca. 5 . . .] Φ̣ανοκράτου
[. . . . στ]ρατος Εὐκτήμονος
[. . ca. 5 . . . ω]ν̣ Καλλιβούλου
[Ἀνα]γυράσιοι
[. . . ca. 7 . . . .]ς Στρατοκλέου[ς]
[. . . ca. 6 . . . Μ]ẹγα[κλέου]ς
[. . . ca. 7 . . . .]χος [. . . .]ίο[υ]
[. . . ca. 7 . . .]ης[. . ca. 5 . . .]έους
[. . . ca. 7 . . . .]τ̣[. . . ca. 6 . . .]ẹ́νους
[. . . . ca. 8 . . . .]ς
[. . . . . ca. 17 . . . .]ίδου
[*demoticum*]
[. . . . . ca. 18 . . . .]ς
[. . . . . ca. 19 . . . .]
[Θημακεῖς]
h and *i* [. . . . . . ca. 12 . . . . . .] Ἑστιαί[ου]
[*demoticum*]ς
[. . . . . . ca. 13 . . . .]υ
[Ἀκαμαντ]ίδος
[Σωφρ- - - Θ]ηριππίδου
Σφήτ(τιος)
[Εἰρεσίδα]ι
[. . . . . . ca. 13 . . . . Εὐ]ξένου
[Χολαργ]εῖς
[. . . . . ca. 11 . . . . . .]νοκλέου
[. . . . . . ca. 12 . . . . . .]ου
[Κερα]μεῖς
[Ναυκ]ράτ[η]ς Ναυσιστράτου
Τιμόθεος Τιμασιθέου
Κηφίσιος Διοφάντου

Col. IV

Φηγα[ιεύς]
[Δι]οκλῆς [- - - - - - - - - - - -
Ἰ[ω]ν[ίδαι]
[Πυ]θόδω[ρος- - - - - - - - - -
[Θε]όμν[ηστος - - - - - - - - -
[. . .]χ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[. .]ọτ̣[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
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[*demoticum*]
Π[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Θι[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Ἐπ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Πρ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[*demoticum*]
Ἀρ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Φ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[Οἰνεῖδος]
[Σωφρ- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[*demoticum*]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Col. III	Col. IV
Κικυννεῖς	-------------------
[Λ]άμαχος Κηφισοκ[λέους]	-------------------
[Εὔ]βουλος Κηφισο[κλέους]	-------------------
Θορρίκιο[ι]	-------------------
[Καλ]λίμαχος Καλλ[-----	-------------------
[Κ]εφαλεῖ[ς]	-------------------
[Δημ]οσθένης Προμ[άχου]	-------------------
[. . .θ]εος Ἀριστοκ[λέους]	-------------------
[. .^{5}. . .]ογνήτου	-------------------
[. . .^{6}. . .]νίδης Φ[-------	-------------------
[. . .^{6}. . .]ης [---------	-------------------

vacat indeterminabile

[Αἰαντίδος]	[Ἀντιοχίδος]
[Σωφρ---------------]	[Σωφρ---------------]
[*demoticum*]	[*demoticum*]

Text

Lines 1-2. At the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2, Sundwall and Kirchner print [----αναπόνπου Ποτάμιος] as belonging to the secretary's name. Kirchner ascribes the restoration to Loeper but I do not find it in Loeper's article in *Ath. Mitt.* 17, 1892, 319-433, and I can find no justification for it elsewhere.

Line 5. For the spelling ἐπιμελέαν, cf. *IG* II² 483, 24, dated 304/3.

Lines 15-19. The names, patronymics and demotics of twelve sophronistai must occur in lines 15-19. They begin with the name of Ἀρκεσ[ίλαν Φίλωνο] in line 15 and come to an end before ---φιλ] of line 19, i.e. 73 times four equals 292, minus the three already occupied in line 19 yields 289 letter spaces available. If we allow 27 letter spaces as an average for each of twelve names with patronymic and demotic a total of 284 would be required. The restoration of the long patronymic and demotic for Adeimantos in lines 16-17 (admittedly not by any means certain) and the required division of the patronymic of the sophronistes from Sphettos between lines 17 [Θηρ]- and 18 [ιππίδου] leave only four letter spaces for his name in the accusative. Only one of the rare three-letter names could be accomodated, e.g. Ἴων. This name occurs in 356/5 *IG* II² 6743 and 1612 b, 127; *post* 137/6, *IG* II² 8168 a; ca. 405/4, *F.de D.* III 1, No. 50, 5; 140/39, *Hesp.* 17, 1948, No. 9, 98; ca. 180/79, *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 103,

No. 48, 85; ca. 161/0, *Hesp.* 16, 1947, 165, No. 64, 3; 148/7, *IG* II² 1938, 28; ca. 186/5, *IG* II² 896, 52; and several examples from later times.

Line 18, *init.* [Εὐριππίδου], Loeper, Sundwall and Kirchner.

Lines 24-5. [τε ταγμ]ένοι, Sundwall.

Line 26. πα[ιδοτρίβην], Sundwall.

Line 28. As restored by Sundwall and Kirchner the line is short one letter, 72 instead of 73. This is necessary in order to make the preserved readings in lines 29 and 30 *initia* fall into place.

Line 30. [ἐν τῶι γυμνασί]ωι, Sundwall.

Lines 31-2. There is a *vacat* of one line between 31 and 32.

Line 33. Σωφρ. Sundwall rightly recognized the ΣΩ preserved in the line below the tribal name in line 82 as an abbreviation for Σωφρονιστής and restored this title under every tribal name. The following considerations will show that the title could not have been written out in full and that the abbreviation was in all likelihood not ΣΩ but ΣΩΦΡ. The title began flush with the margin of the column as is shown in line 82 where the ΣΩ still preserved is in line with the initial letter of a name, X[--- of line 84. In line 34 the space from the left margin of the column of names to the end of [Παι]ανιεῖς can be closely estimated: indentation of three letter spaces, 3.7 cm.; [Παι], 4.5 cm.;]ανιεῖς, 10.5 cm., equals 18 cm., from margin to end of demotic. The second alpha of Paianieis comes midway between the epsilon and the first sigma of Arkesilas, leaving about 7 cm. of space from that point to the left margin. Thirteen letters in line 33 occupy 11.5 cm., about 0.88 cm. per letter, which would give a bit less than 8 letters for the 7 cm. available. Hence with three letters for ['Αρκ] to be restored for the name, at most Σωφρο. could be supplied. In line 47, similar calculations with the tribal name which is also indented three letters from the left margin of the column of names, and the spacing of the preserved letters of the name, patronymic and deme in line 48 show that circa 4.9 cm. are available to the left margin, room enough for about six and one-half letters. With Φιλ] only ca. three and one-half letters, i.e. Σωφρ., could be accomodated. Similar calculations in lines 119-120, indicate that only Σωφ. or Σωφρ. could be restored.

Line 37. [Αἰσχίνης], Sundwall with no explanation.

Line 49. ['Ατηνε]ῖς, Sundwall.

Line 54. [Κοθωκίδ]αι, Sundwall.

Line 56. [Μελιτεῖς], Sundwall.

Line 58. Sundwall and Kirchner read K for the first letter. I have dotted the H in deference to their reading, but from the squeeze, the letter is indubitably an eta.

Line 73. A deme name must stand in this line and the spacing of the ending ---]υς is not inconsistent with the assumption that the singular of a demotic appeared here for the one ephebos whose patronymic is in part preserved in line 74. The demotic should be about the same length as 'Ελαι]ούσιοι in line 77, which suggests the restoration.

Line 75. ['Ανα]και[εῖς], Sundwall and Kirchner. Since I have nothing better to suggest I have kept the restoration, although I am very dubious. The kappa is very uncertain from the squeeze and the demotic should be longer if it preserves the spacing which is read in the others, since the clearly read alpha stands above the second iota of 'Ελαι]ούσιοι in line 78 and ca. 7 letters should normally precede it.

Lines 79-80. Sundwall thought that the fragmentary names which are inscribed in larger letters than the others represented sophronistai and he inserted them in line 82 under Erechtheis and in line 44 under Pandionis.

Line 110. A demotic is indicated here by the spacing. On the assumption that it was spaced as ['Ανα]γυράσιοι in line 104, eight letters should have preceded the preserved sigma. Λαμπτρεύς, Κηφισιεύς and Περγασεύς are possible restorations.

Lines 111-116. The number of lines cannot be ascertained with certainty at this point where fragments *g* and *h* plus *i* must be placed close together. It would appear most likely that there were at least four lines between ---]ίδου of line 111 and [------] 'Εστιαί[ου of line 116.

Line 115. [Θημακεῖς], Sundwall. Kirchner with a question mark.

Line 117. [Περγασεῖ]ς, Sundwall.

Line 119. That the tribal names Akamantidos and Oineidos (and presumably the same held true of the other tribal names after the beginning of the four columns under the decree) were not here (and necessarily elsewhere) in a line horizontally is shown by the fact that the ending of ['Ακαμαντ]ίδος comes between the two lines beginning with Π[--- and Θι[---, lines 181 and 182, in the adjoining column which represent names assigned by Kirchner to Oineis. In that column the *vacat* in the line above Π[--- indicates that a *demoticum* was placed there.

Line 120. [Σω.- - - - -Εὐ]ριππίδου, Sundwall and Kirchner. But the eta is unmistakably read.

Line 121. [Εἰρεσίδα]ι, Loeper, Sundwall, Kirchner.

Line 123. [Χολαργ]εῖς, Loeper, Sundwall, Kirchner.

Line 126. [Κερα]μεῖς, Loeper, Sundwall, Kirchner.

Line 149. ['Ερχιεῖς], Sundwall.

Line 157. 'Ι[ω]ν[ίδαι], Sundwall and Kirchner.

Line 161. Sundwall reads a demotic, Τ[ειθράσιοι], but an omicron is almost certain before the tau.

Prosopographia

Lines 15. 33. Of the demes of Antigonis, the name Arkesilas, at present, occurs only in the deme Paiania, and the sophronistes, Arkesilas, son of Philon is very likely from that deme. If he is from that deme, the relative of Aischines, Φίλων Φιλοδήμου Παιανιεύς (Aischin. 2, 150. 152; Dem. 18, 312) may be his father. The brother of Φ.Φ.Π. was 'Επικράτης Φιλοδήμου Π. In the catalogue of epimeletai which was found at the Piraeus and is dated from the period 130-120 B.C. are listed 'Αρκεσίλας 'Ανδρίου Π. and 'Ανδρέας 'Αρκεσιλάου Π. as well as Φίλων Γλαυκίου 'Α[μφι]τροπῆθεν, also a deme of Antigonis, who would then be later relatives (*IG* II² 1939). The same family is represented later by the ephebos in 143/4 or 144/5 Στάτι(ος) Φίλων Π., (*IG* II² 2050, 7) and the same man, prytanis in 169/70 *IG* II² 1776, 14); and Philon Paianieus, *s*. II *a*. (*IG* II² 7068).

Line 16. 'Αδείμαντος. Plato's brother, as is well-known, was Adeimantos, son of Ariston, of the deme Kollytos (Aigeis). The name Adeimantos is known also from the demes, Thymaitadai (Hippothontis), 349/8, father of Agathymos, secretary of the treasurers of Athena (*IG* II² 1436, 6); Skambonidai (Leontis), son of Leukolophides, whose property was confiscated ca. 414/13 (*Hesp*. 22, 1953, pp. 271. 273. 274. 288, Stelai IV 17, 53, 116, 131, 174, 178; X 3, 10, 24); Ikaria (Ptolemais or Attalis), father of Mnasagoras, in a list of prominent citizens, ca. 125/4 (*IG* II² 2542, 32 and cf. M. Thompson, *Hesp*. 10, 1941, 220, Note 59; *Inscr. de Délos*, No. 102); Myrrhinous (Pandionis), father of Εὐριππίδης, whose name appears as one of the victorious choregoi (*IG* II² 1138, Col. I 25-27). D. M. Lewis (*BSA* 50, 1955, 18-24) recognized that another inscription preserved the same names and a third name from this list of choregoi (*IG* II² 2812). After careful consideration he concluded that a date of ca. 366/5 was most likely for *IG* II² 1138.

Heurippides was the proposer of a decree in 402/1-400/399 (*IG* II² 145, 3; cf. *BSA* 49, 1954, 37 f.). A boundary stone bears the name of Adeimantos Myrrhinousios (*IG* II² 2646). It is very possible that Heurippides, the choregos of ca. 366/5, was the father of the sophronistes Adeimantos who was then of the tribe Pandionis. Otherwise unidentified the name Adeimantos occurs *med. s.* III *a.* as archon of the Mesogeioi (*IG* II² 1247, 29; on tombstones: ca. 430/29, father of Eunomos, deme Trikorynthos (Aiantis) (*IG* II² 7551); son of Sphodrios, *s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 10576); husband of Theophile, *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 11661) and husband of Apollonia, *post med. s.* II *a.*, deme Ikaria (Ptolemais or Attalis) (*IG* II² 7646).

Line 24. May have contained the names of the strategoi.

Line 26. The paidotribes, [. . . . ca. 9 . . . . .]ειạ[- - -.

Lines 26-27. The didaskaloi? Allowing again some 27 letter spaces for name, patronymic and demotic of the paidotribes and space for καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους, there would be left 19 spaces in line 26 and 66 in line 27, a total of 75 spaces. This would accomodate the names, patronymics and demotics of two plus instructors. The letters read in line 27, [- - -δ]ημο[- - -], 'Αφε[.]στον Μ[. . .]ο[- - -, may be parts of two of them.

Line 32. Tribal names are flush with deme names which are set in three letter spaces. Cf. lines 32. 34; lines 47. 49. 119. 130).

Line 35. The Demochares Paianieus who with Theophemos Euonymeus owed ship's equipment to the state (*IG* II² 1612 d, 313) in 356/5 (cf. Dem. 47, 22. 28. 32; 58, 29) is very likely the same man as the Demochares, brother of Phrynion of Paiania, sons of Demon in Dem. 59, 30-31, and the father of the ephebos here. Cf. Lewis, *BSA* 50, 1955, 19 and Kirchner's stemma *PA* 3597. The trierarch in 377/6 (*IG* II² 1604, 38) is a generation earlier. Demochares appears on a grave marker, 390-365 B.C. (*IG* II² 11132); as husband of Kallisto on a gravestone, *s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 11814); on a horos stone (*IG* II² 2691, 4-5) and in a catalogue *incerti generis* (*IG* II² 2387, 2). In 266/7 Demochares appears as the father of the ephebos Paramythos of the tribe Antigonis and he is doubtless, in spite of the intervening centuries, of the same family (*Hesp.* 17, 1948, p. 6, line 34, *IG* II² 766, 24).

Line 36. The ephebos could have been named after his grandfather Nausimachos II, son of Nausikrates, against whom Demosthenes delivered his speech ca. 349/8 (Dem. 38) as Kirchner reconstructed the relationship in the stemma under *PA* 11263. The ca. six letters

call for a shorter name. But a close relationship seems certain. Lewis (*BSA* 50, 1955, pp. 20-21) identifies the victorious choregos, Xenopeithes I, son of Nausimachos I of Paiania (*IG* II² 1138, Col. III 20-22) with the uncle of the brothers, Nausimachos II and Xenopeithes II, who are the sons of Nausikrates. The Xenopeithes here was then the son of Nausimachos II and the father of the ephebos with the name of six letters and presumably the trierarch of 365/4 (*IG* II² 1609, 117).

Line 37. Αὐτοκράτης Αἰσχίνου Π. was prytanis of Pandionis *post med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 1751, 15) and may be the father named here. The Autokrates in a list of thiasotai, *ante med. s.* IV *a.*, cannot be further identified (*IG* II² 2346, 54). One of three officials ἐπὶ τὴν σιτηράν was Aischines Paianieus in a text (*IG* II² 1707, 8) which Dow would date 217-180 B.C. on the basis of letter forms (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, p. 123, Note 1).

Line 39. A Dionysios Gargettios is among the phylarchs honored *inter* 286/5-261/0 ('Αρχ. Δελτ. 18, Part I 1963, 104, No. 1, 28) and a tombstone, *s.* III/II *a.*, shows the name Δ. Στρατ[------] Γ. (*Hesp.* 17, 1948, 47, No. 43).

Line 48. Φιλαῖος Φίλωνος Ξυπεταιών, sophronistes of Demetrias. One of the five komastai in 330/29 bore the same name, patronymic and demotic (*IG* II² 3103 B, 11) and is doubtless the same individual (cf. P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.* 17, 1941, 226-231 and Pappagiannopoulos-Palaios, *Polemon* 1, 1929, 51). A gravestone of Philon, son of Philaios, Xypetaion, *fin. s.* IV *a.*, may be that of his son (*IG* II² 6941). A parallel line of the same family is represented by Kleinias, son of Philon, of the deme Xypete, in a catalogue of diaitetai, *post med. s.* IV *a.* from the tribe Kekropis (*IG* II² 1927, 17-18). Φίλων Κλεινίο in a catalogue of Kekrops ca. 350/49 is perhaps the father of the diatetes (*IG* II² 2384, 3). The Isarchos, son of Philon, and his relative Theosebos, son of Theophilos, Xypetaiones, who are mentioned in a dispute over property in 367/6 (*Hesp.* 10, 1941, 14-17, No. 1, 9-10. 24-25; the inscription has been republished by M.I. Finley, *Studi in Onere di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz*, Vol. III, Naples, 1952, 473-491) belonged to an earlier generation.

Line 52. [....ca. 9.....Π]ασιφῶντος 'Ατηνεύς. A physician with the name Pasiphon appears as a witness 362/1 (Dem. 30, 34).

Line 55. [.....ca. 11......] 'Ηνιόχου Κοθωκίδης. A new fragment of the casualty list published in *Hesp.* 7, 1938, made it possible for Peek (*Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 163, No. 340) to add additional names,

among them in line 63 of the *Hesperia* publication on p. 87, the name [. . . ca. 7 . . . .] Ἡνιόχου.

Line 57. [. . . . . ca. 10 . . . . . Ἱε]ρωνύ[μουΠοριός] (Demetrias). In what appears to be a roster of epheboi, dated ca. *init. s.* III *a.*, the name Hieronymos Porios occurs among other names from the tribe Demetrias (*Hesp.* 9, 1940, 79, No. 12, 8). Also from Porios is the Hieronymos, one of three men chosen in ca. 236/5 to erect a statue to Aristophanes who had been general at Eleusis, Panakton and Phyle (*IG* II² 1299, 90). Sundwall restored Meliteis in line 56, in which case the name on a statue base, 400-350 B.C., Ἱέρων Ἱερωνύμο Μελιτεύς (*IG* II² 3826) and the same name and patronymic on a funeral monument *post med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 11709) may be connected.

Line 79. [- - - -] Διονυσίου Ἐλαιούσιος. Δ. Θεοφίλου Ε. in 209/8, is related (*IG* II² 844, 33). Several centuries later an ephebos, Δ.Δ.Ε., from Hippothontis is known, ca. 260-267 A.D. (*Hesp.* 11, 1942, 72, No. 37, 121).

Line 80. [- - - Βατ]ράχου Κηφίσιος, an ephebic official (?). Peek (*Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 163, No. 340) restores [Βατρ]άχου in a casualty list, *Hesp.* 7, 1938, p. 90, line 270.

Line 93. [. . ca. 5 . . .]ετος Ἐπιτ[έλους] Εὐωνυμεύς. Sundwall and Kirchner restore [Εὐαίν]ετος. [Ἐπ]ιτέλης [Δι]ονυσίου [Εὐ]ωνυμεύς appears on a grave marker *med. s.* IV *a.*, perhaps his father (*IG* II² 6167).

Line 95. [. . ca. 5 . . .]ημος Ἀρχεσ[τράτου] Εὐωνυμεύς. The name, perhaps his brother, Chairestratos, son of Archestratos, Euonymeus, on a tombstone *s.* III *a.* (*IG* II² 6198).

Line 97. [Λυσίθ]εος Λυσιμένους Εὐωνυμεύς. The occurrence of Lysitheos as councillor from Euonymon in 328/7, perhaps his grandfather, makes the restoration, which fits the gap, a very likely one (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1917, 41, No. 92, Side B 10).

Line 98. [. . ca. 5 . . .]ων Ἀλεξιμάχου Εὐωνυμεύς. Aleximachos, son of Alexis, Euonymeus, councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 (*Hesp.* 11, 1942, 233, No. 43, 12) and Sokles, son of Aleximachos, Euonymeus, a hippeus in ca. 320/19 (*IG* II² 1955, 22; cf. line 9) are distinguished earlier members of the family. Kirchner's stemma *PA* 13070, would make the father of our ephebos, the brother of Sokles, the hippeus. The restoration [Ἀλεξί]ων for the name of the ephebos here is very probable.

Line 99. [. . ca. 5 . . .]ιος Διοσκουρίδο[υ] Εὐωνυμεύς. Θεοφάνης Διοσκουρίδου Ε. was agonothetes in 277/6 and as Kirchner thought (stemma

PA 4351) the brother of the ephebos here (*IG* II² 3081, 2). Dioskourides, son of Theophanes Euonymeus in *IG* II² 3851, 1, was the son of the agonothetes of 277/6 and proxenos of Oropos (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1892, 45, line 75). Peek (*Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 174-75, No. 368) restores [Διοσκο]υρί[δ]ης [Σιβυρ]τίου or [Κλεοπ]ειθ[ο]υ[ς] of the deme Euonymon in *IG* II² 6201.

Line 100. [Καλλία]ς Καλλιστράτου Εὐωνυμεύς. K.K.E. is known as a prytanis of Erechtheis in 256/5 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 46, No. 9, 38). For the date which is the same as the date of *IG* II² 678, see Pritchett-Meritt, *Chron.* p. xxi. The councillor of Erechtheis in the list of 304/3 (Traill, *Hesp.* 35, 1966, p. 226, Col. III line 134), Καλλίστρατος Καλλ[- - -] is undoubtedly his father and [Καλλία]ς should be restored here.

Line 101. [. . ca. 5 . . .] Φανοκράτου Εὐωνυμεύς. On a small unidentified marble fragment dated *med. s.* IV *a.*, the name Φανοκλῆς Φανοκράτος appears (*IG* II² 2371, 2).

Line 102. [. . ca. 5 . . .]ρατος Εὐκτήμονο[ς] Εὐωνυμεύς. Kirchner thinks that the grave monument dated *s.* IV *a.* may preserve the name of the father of the ephebos, [Εὐ]κτήμ[ων Εὐκ]τήμον[ς] [Εὐω]νυμε[ύς] (*IG* II² 6168).

Line 103. [. . . ca. 6 . . .]ν Καλλιβούλου Εὐωνυμεύς. The name Kalliboulos to my knowledge appears only here in Attic inscriptional or literary texts.

Line 116. [. . . . . . . ca. 14 . . . .] Ἑστιαί[ου] Θημακεύς. The name Hestiaios is attested for the tribe Erechtheis only for the deme Themakos, *PA* 13410 and *PA* 5199, father and son, known, however, from a later period. Σωφάνης (Διονυσίου) Θ[ημακεύς], who makes a contribution ὑπὲρ τῶ[ν ὑ]ῶ[ν Δ]ιονυσ[ίου] καὶ Ἱστιαί[ου] in 183/2 (*IG* II² 2332, Col. II 186-188) and *fin. s.* III *a.* as proxenos of Oropos (*IG* VII 258, 1. 5). One son appears 152/1 in a catalogue of hieropoioi of the tribe Ptolemais, Ἑστιαῖος Θημακεύς, (*IG* II² 1938, 61).

Line 120. [Σωφρ. - - - - - Θ]ηριππίδου Σφήτ(τιος), sophronistes of Akamantis. The reading of the eta is certain. In 247/6 (archon, Diomedon)- - -] Θηριππίδου [. . .] is recorded to have made an offering to Asklepios (*IG* II² 1534, 237). The name Therippides occurs only here and in the deme Paiania (*PA* 7238).

Line 122. [. . . . . ca. 11 . . . . . . Εὐ]ξένου Εἰρεσίδης. One of ten epimeletai of a procession in ca. 186/5 was Εὔξενος Ἀρχίππου Ε. (*IG* II² 896, 44).

Line 124. [. . . . . .ca. 12. . . . . .]νοκλέους Χολαργεύς. In the diatetai list of 330/29 (*IG* II² 2409, the lower half of which is *IG* II² 1924, D.M. Lewis, *BSA* 50, 1955, 27) there occurs, lines 60-61, Ξενοκλῆς Χολαργεύς, who, as Kirchner thinks, is the same individual as the councillor Ξενοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους ca. 330/29 (*IG* II² 2411, 7). He is undoubtedly the father of our ephebos and the restoration [Ξενοκλῆς Ξε]νοκλέους becomes very probable.

Line 127. [Ναυκ]ράτ[η]ς Ναυσιστράτου Κεραμεύς. *PA* 10531 with stemma. A later descendant of the ephebos, Naukrates II had two sons, Nausistratos (ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά 110/9, *Inscr. de Délos*, 143) and Archonides. The latter, A. Ναυκράτου ἐκ Κερ., was archon basileus in 97/6 (*IG* II² 2336, 189, *HSCP* 1940, 116-124, line 195). In the pythaist list (*F. de D.* III 2, 14, No. 2, 4) he appears as βασιλεὺς Ἀρχωνίδης Ναυσιστράτου, but the patronymic is patently wrong since he is unquestionably the same man as the πυθαιστὴς ἐκ κηρυκῶν in 106/5 (*ibid.* p. 21, No. 13, 11) where the patronymic appears in what is actually the correct form: Ναυ[κ]ράτου. The ephebos in ca. 80/79, N. A. ἐκ Κερ., is his son (Mitsos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1964(1966), Plate B, Col. II 82, *IG* II² 1039, Col. II 81).

Line 128. Τιμόθεος Τιμασιθέου Κεραμεύς. A second Timotheos was added to this family already inscriptionally well-known when Charitonides discovered the name among the councillors of Akamantis in a very full bouleutai list (*Hesp.* 30, 1961, 33, Side C, line 289). After a detailed examination of the prosopographical evidence he concluded that it was most probably to be dated in 336/5. He gives a new stemma of the family (l.c., p. 51; cf. *PA* 3273). It seems to me, however, that he adds one generation more than is necessary and a superfluous Timasitheos by making [Τιμασ]ίθεος II (?) who is known from an inscriptions dated *ante* 336/5 (*IG* II² 291, 8) and Τιμησιθέος III who appears as trierarch in 323/2 (*IG* II² 1631, 538) cousins in the same generation, and by putting [Τιμασ]ίθεος [Δη]μαινέτο I two generations before them. The latter appeared in what Schweigert conjectured to be a list of diaitetai (*Hesp.* 7, 1938, 278, No. 13, Col. III 2, including *IG* II² 143, 8). Roussel agreed with the identification and added *IG* II² 2813 as part of the inscription (*Rev. Arch.* 18, 1941, 216-220). Timasitheos, son of Demainetos (I), would then be past 60 at the time of the inscription which Schweigert places in the period 375-60, say 367/6. His floruit would be some twenty years earlier, ca. 387/6. If one accepts as possible that the [Δημ]αίνετος ἐκ Κερ. who was trierarch

in 356/5 (*IG* II² 1612 d, 346) and *post* 358/7 (*IG* II² 1616 c, 132) was identical with the Δημαίνετος Τιμασιθέου ἐκ Κερ. who was trierarch in 334/3 or 333/2 (*IG* II² 1623, 38-39) and brother of Timotheos, the councillor of Akamantis in 336/5, then it is not impossible that the Τιμησίθεος ἐκ Κερ., trierarch in 323/2 (*IG* II² 1631 d, 538) was a younger member of the same generation and the father of the ephebos Timotheos in 305/4. The following stemma is possible.

430/29		Δημαίνετος I	
387/6		Τιμασίθεος I Δημαινέτου, diaitetes ca. 367/6 (*IG* II² 143,8; *Hesp.* 7, 1938, 278, Col. III 2)	
354/3	Δημαίνετος II Τιμασιθέου trierarch 356/5 (*IG* II² 1612 d, 346) trierarch post 358/7 (*IG* II² 1616 c, 132) trierarch 334/3 or 333/2 (*IG* II² 1623, 38-39)	Τιμόθεος I councillor 336/5 (*Hesp.* 30, 1961, p. 33, Side C, line 289)	Τιμησίθεος ἐκ Κερ. II no patronymic trierarch 323/2 (*IG* II² 1631 d, 538)
321/0			Τιμόθεος II ephebos 305/4

The [Τιμασ]ίθεος ἐκ Κεραμέ[ων] who was honored with a crown *ante* 336/5, but otherwise unidentified (*IG* II² 291, 8) and the thiasotes [Τ]ιμασίθεος with no patronymic or demotic *ante med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II² 2345, 30) may then most probably refer to Timasitheos I.

Line 128. Κηφίσιος Διοφάντου Κεραμεύς. Kirchner recognizes the dedicant in *IG* II² 4385 dated *med. s.* IV *a.*, Diophantes, the son of Kallias, ἐκ Κεραμέων as the father of the ephebos.

Line 131. [Λ]άμαχος Κηφισο[κλέους] and

Line 132. [Εὔ]βουλος Κηφισο[κλέους] Κικυννεῖς I take with Stamires (*Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 225, No. 33) to be brothers. Stamires reconstructs the often re-published sepulchral inscription (*IG* II² 6477) dated *s.* IV *a.* and identifies the Lamachos, son of Kephisokles, Kikynneus there as the uncle of the brothers here (cf. Peek, l.c., p. 98, No. 169; p. 188, No. 413; and p. 189 where he notes that *IG* II² 7358 duplicates 6477).

Line 138. [. . ca. 5 . . .]ογνήτου Κεφαλῆθεν. Sundwall and Kirchner restore Δι]ογνήτου which leaves room for a name of only three letters. Cf. p. 91. The Diognetos Kephalethen in an unidentified list dated

ca. 330/29 (*IG* II^2 2411, 22) may refer to the father of the ephebos.

Line 150. Sundwall: ['Ερχιεῖς]. ['Αραφήνιοι] is also possible.

Line 151. [Κ]αλλισθέν[ης---] Αἰγεῖδος. The name occurs for the following demes of Aigeis: Erchia, Kallikrates, son of Kallisthenes, *post med., init. s.* IV *a., et* ca. 360/59 (*IG* II^2 6121 and cf. 6122, 6123); Araphen, Kallisthenes, son of Phanomachos, prytanis in 256/5 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 47, No. 10, *IG* II^2 678, Col. III 37); Kallisthenes, son of Kallias in a catalogue dated *med. s.* IV *a.* (*IG* II^2 2388, 10).

Line 152. ['Α]θηνόδωρος [---]Αἰγεῖδος. Aigeids with the name Athenodoros appear in the following demes: Angkyle, 94/3, a mellephebos (*IG* II^2 2991, 8), A. A. A.; Erchia, Σόλων A. E., prytanis in 256/5 (*Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 47, No. 10, 34, *IG* II^2 678, Col. I 34); Hestiaia, A. A. 'E., bouleutes in 138, 9 (*IG* II^2 1765, 47); an ephebic instructor, A. 'E. and his son, A. A. 'E. in 150/1 (*IG* II^2 2065, 17. 60); Kolonos, *s.* II *a.*, A. 'Απολλοδώρου K. (*IG* II^2 6511).

Line 154. [Μ]εγακλῆς Εὐ[---] Αὐγεῖδος. Μεγα[κ]λ[ῆ]ς [Ε]ὐαινέτου (?) of Gargettos was prytanis of Aigeis in ca. 350/49 and may be the grandfather of our ephebos (*IG* II^2 1747, 36).

Line 156. [Δι]οκλῆς [---] Φηγαιεύς. Δ. Φ., *s.* III/II *a.* is of a later generation (*IG* II^2 7634).

Line 159. [Θε]όμν[ηστος---] 'Ιωνίδης. Θ. Δεισιθέου I. in a record of poletai, 367/6, may be the grandfather (*Hesp.* 10, 1941, 14-16, No. 1, 8-9. 20).

Date

The date must be prior to 302/1 when the ταμίας τοῦ δήμου (line 31) appears for the last time (*IG* II^2 505, 63; A.C. Johnson, *CPh.* 9, 1914, 440). Hence the restoration (line 1), 305/4, and his predecessor, Koroibos, (line 10) rather than Glaukippos and Euboulos, 273/2 and 274/3. It must be later than 307/6 when the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were created. Supporting this date is the fact that the last known sophronistes under the constitution described by Aristotle, Philonides, son of Kallikrates of Konthyle was elected to that office under the archon Leostratos in 303/2 (No. 19, p. 118).

Ephebic Service Reduced to One Year

The inscription shows striking changes from previous tribal inscriptions. It is the earliest known inscription to praise the officials and epheboi of all the tribes on one stone. As Koehler point-

ed out (*Ath. Mitt.* 4, 1879, 326), line 10 indicates that the epheboi who were honored in the archonship of Euxenippos, 305/4, were enrolled in the previous year, since the stoichedon line exactly accomodates the name of Koroibos, the archon of 306/5 and will not admit the name of Anaxikrates, archon in 307/6 under whom the epheboi in a biennial ephebia would have been enrolled. The conclusion is inescapable: the term of ephebic service has been reduced to one year.

The alternative explanation that the epheboi of the first year in a biennial ephebia are honored is supported by no parallel. There is no justification for Pélékidis' statement (*Éphébie*, 171): "... il est aujourd'hui établi par les inscriptions de la période 335-323 (à une époque où personne ne peut contester la durée biennale de l'éphébie) que l'Assemblée ou le Conseil pouvaient honorer aussi bien les éphèbes de la première année que ceux de la seconde." The inscriptions of the period mentioned prove nothing about what the Ekklesia or Boule could do in this regard. They show by the inclusion of honorary decrees for ephebic guard duty at Eleusis and other frontier posts, by the mention of the generals under whom the epheboi served and by the fact that the kosmetes, if mentioned at all, receives less prominence than the sophronistai who were intimately associated with them presumably in both years of their service that the epheboi who had completed two years of service were honored. In no instance is there any reason to believe that the epheboi were honored at the end of their first year of service.

Number of Epheboi

Many estimates have been made of the number of epheboi represented in this inscription (summarized in Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, 161-62) but no systematic analysis has been undertaken to reconstruct the inscription in order to ascertain how many names the stone can reasonably have listed. To begin with, no new fragments have to my knowledge been found which would affect the question as has been asserted (Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, 161): "Ce point de vue (Koehler's, that the number showed a reduced ephebic contingent in 305/4) a été abandonné, parce qu'on a trouvé depuis d'autres fragments de la stèle qui permettent d'augmenter le nombre des éphèbes de l'Erechtheis et, par conséquent, celui de l'ensemble des douze tribus."

Basic to the determination is the fact that the roster of Erech-

theids in Col. III is continuous except for two breaks, 1) after line 113 (Corpus, 64), [.........ca. 18.........]ς, and before line 116 (Corpus, line 66), [......ca. 12-13......]'Εστιαί[ου], i.e. between fgts. *m* and *h*. A careful examination of the configuration and the edges of the fragments and of the spatial relations would seem to indicate that, while there is no actual join, the two fragments were contiguous in such a way that there was space for one additional name after line 113 (Corpus, 64), [..........ca. 19-20..........], and before the supplied *demoticum* in line 115 (Corpus, 65). [Θημακεῖς ?]. 2) On the right side of fragment *e*, below line 82 (Corpus, Col. III 33) which preserves Σω[φρ- - -], there is space for a demotic, then the initial letters of two names (lines 84, 85; Corpus, Col. III 35, 36), after which the stone breaks away. For no compelling reason that can be inferred—the edges of the fragments yield no clue—the first line of fragment *g* (line 88; Corpus, Col. III 39), [..ca. 5...]ης Δ[- - -] is printed in line with the restored demotic [Κοθωκίδ]αι in Col. II line 54; Corpus 39), thus leaving room for the two additional names at this point in Col. III.

Although the extent of the break here cannot be exactly determined, there are considerations which enable us to estimate it within acceptable limits. We may assume that the disposition of the twelve tribes in three series of four each across the stone was continued for the two remaining series in such a way that they were roughly parallel and that the longest list of epheboi in a given tribe would determine the approximate spacing between the series in such a way as to make maximum use of the available space.

We may further assume that at this particular time the number of epheboi from each tribe was roughly of the same magnitude. The creation of the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias just two years before which involved the transfer of demes from the old tribes to the new was unquestionably used as an occasion to equalize the population of the tribes and in consequence the number of epheboi from each tribe. (Cf. Sundwall, *Klio Beiheft* 4, 1906, 91).

Twenty-five names of Erechtheids are preserved in whole or in part; (the preserved sigma in line 113, Corpus, Col. III 64 is almost certainly the genitive termination of a name since the uninscribed space immediately above it posits the necessity of inserting a demmotic). Adding an additional name made likely by the configuration of fragment *m* and *h* in line 114 (Corpus, Col. III between lines 64 and 65) we have a total of 26 Erechtheids from 8 demes,—Agryle

with one, Euonymon 11, Anagyrous 5, the other five demes represented by one or two.

To estimate the number of epheboi from the three unknown demes is an arbitrary matter. After assuming that there were six names in the first deme under Erechtheis (without warrant since only two are indicated on the stone), Gomme (*Population* 69) thought that five or six more names might have been inscribed for a total of ca. 33. My guess is that the *vacat indeterminabile* between fgts. *e* and *g* would be in the range of two or three additional line spaces rather than the seven or eight posited by Gomme's estimate for a total of ca. 28, but either estimate would be consonant with the conclusion I hope to reach.

Let us try to reconstruct the inscription in order to give us an idea of the possible number of epheboi from Aigeis. The extreme right part of fragment *h* shows the beginnings of seven lines from Col. IV (lines 181-187; Corpus 68-74). Since the tribal name ['Ακαμαντ]-ίδος in Col. III line 119 (Corpus, Col. III 69) falls precisely midway between the initial letters of two names in Col. IV lines 181 and 182 (Corpus, Col. IV 68, 69) it follows that the tribal name in Col. IV was not in line with the tribal name in Col. III and the remains of names and the indications of a demotic ascribed to Oineis in the Corpus may have belonged either to Aigeis above or to Oineis which would follow below it as the fourth tribe of the second series. If to Aigeis, that tribe would show 16 names and six demes with 21 additional spaces for, let us say, 17 names and four demotics, for a total of ca. 33 names and ten demes. If to Oineis, the total for Aigeis would be restricted to ten names and the four demotics indicated in line 145 and on fragment *k*, lines 149, 155 and 157, with 19 spaces left for x names and demotics (allowing two spaces for the tribal name and for the sophronistes of Oineis),—i.e. if there were representation from even half the remaining demes of Aigeis in this period some six of the spaces would have to be allotted to demotics and the number of epheboi of Aigeis limited to ca. 23. Unless unusual conditions prevailed in this year, the beginnings of names in lines 181-187, it would appear, should be placed under Aigeidos, giving that tribe ca. 35 epheboi, a number of the same magnitude as the representation from Erechtheis.

For Akamantis, fourteen names and six of the 14 demes are represented on the stone. The extent of the break in the continuity of the text at line 140 (Corpus 90), and consequently the total

number of epheboi and demes recorded for that tribe cannot be determined. Sundwall (*Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, 25) estimated that Akamantis could not account for more than 30 epheboi, since the 14 epheboi listed came from demes represented by 26 of the 50 prytaneis. The figure may be accepted as a reasonable approximation agreeing well with the complements from Erechtheis and Aegeis, while granting Pélékidis' objection (*Éphébie*, 162) that the division of prytaneis among the demes, on which it is based, is hypothetical.

For the period 334/3-324/3 we know within two or three the full number of epheboi from Kekropis (twice), Leontis (twice) and Oineis and can estimate the number from Pandionis. The comparable figures for the complement from a single tribe in 334/3-324/3 and in 305/4 will give us a significant relative range of magnitude without at all assuming an equal number of epheboi from each tribe.

In 334/3 Kekropis (No. 2, p. 5) shows 30 epheboi from 11 demes. An additional 15 spaces available on the stone would accomodate, let us say, 12 epheboi and three demes for an estimated total of ca. 42 epheboi. The almost complete inscription of Kekropis (No. 5, p. 16), records the names of some 52 epheboi including one taxiarch and seven lochagoi with four demes missing. Two inscriptions of Leontis in this period, one in 333/2 (No. 9, p. 25) yields an estimated total of 44 epheboi including one taxiarch and five lochagoi from some 11 demes, while the other, in 324/3 (No. 15, p. 58), which is complete, records 62 epheboi including one who may be identified as the taxiarch and 12 lochagoi with all but one deme represented. The inscription of Oineis, ca. 330/29, (No. 12, p. 42), apparently contains a complete roster of names, a total of 52, from all but three demes. Six additional available spaces were doubtless occupied by, let us assume, two deme names and four names of epheboi for a total of 56 with only one deme not represented. The incomplete inscription of Pandionis in 333/2 (No. 8, p. 21) has space for 38 names or demotics. Assuming that eight of ten demes were represented we would have 30 epheboi. Whether the names of the seven lochagoi which are preserved were repeated in the roster of epheboi, as is commonly the case, or were listed only once, in which case the number of epheboi would be 37, cannot be ascertained.

The significant fact is that the complement for Erechtheis,

Akamantis and Aigeis in 305/4 was, as nearly as can be determined, respectively ca. 28, ca. 30 and ca. 35; that the comparable figures for Kekropis (two years), Leontis (two years), Oineis and Pandionis in the period 334/3-324/3 were ca. 42, 52, ca. 44, 62, ca. 56 and ca. 30 or 37. On the evidence, admittedly meager, of the stones themselves, the total enrolment of the ephebia in the period 334/3-324/3 was of the magnitude of 49+ times 10 tribes, 490+; in 305/4, 31+ times 12 tribes, 372,—a considerable decline.

Ephebic Enrolments in the Fourth Century B.C. The Decrease in Enrolment in 305/4

Before using ephebic enrolment figures as evidence for citizen population, one must decide whether epheboi were drawn from the hoplite classes only or from the thetes as well. Aristotle's account of the ephebia (*Ath. Pol.* 42, 1) makes no mention of property qualifications for citizenship and clearly implies that all young men of Athenian parentage were required to register in their demes at eighteen years of age and spend two years in ephebic training before they could be considered citizens. Most scholars (including Busolt, Beloch, Sundwall, Gomme, and Jones) assume that epheboi were exclusively of the hoplite census and did not include thetes. For reasons which cannot be gone into here, this assumption, which I also make, seems most likely, but it must be kept in mind that it cannot be conclusively proved by the evidence at present available. The number of epheboi in a given year cannot then be reckoned as a fraction of the total citizen population (adult males) but of that part of the citizenry possessing property expressed in terms of produce from it (200 medimnoi of grain or its equivalent in other products) or in drachmai. The latter method was apparently followed in the fourth century B.C. (Isaeus 7, 39). Further, I take it that the names of epheboi recorded in the inscriptions represent young men who have finished their second year of training, and that it is reasonable to suppose that the number in the first year of training was approximately equal.

In appraising the effect of Antipater's imposition of a 2000 drachmai rating in 322/1, Ferguson (*Hell. Ath.* p. 22) based his often quoted statement that "it reduced by four-sevenths the corps of ephebes" on the assumption that the epheboi were drawn from the whole citizen population of 21,000 which undoubtedly included the thetic class. Pélékidis makes the same assumption in

the most recent study of the subject (*Éphébie*, p. 292). This assumption must be reexamined in the light of the enrolments which we have found in the inscriptions of the fourth century.

If we can determine, within the limits of accuracy imposed upon us by the meager evidence available, the enrolment in the ephebia, the number of free citizens (adult males) and their relative age distribution at a given period we shall be in a better position to decide whether the epheboi were drawn from all classes of citizens or only from the hoplite class.

The enrolment in the ephebia is known, with some degree of accuracy, for only two periods in the second half of the fourth century B.C.,—for the period 334/3 to 324/3 and for the year 305/4 and then only for four and three tribes respectively. The data are given in the following table.

Ephebic Enrolments in the Fourth Century B.C.

Year	*Tribe*	*Number of epheboi in 2nd Year Class*	*Reference*
334/3	Kekropis	ca. 42	No. 2. *IG* II^2 1156
333/2	Kekropis	48	No. 5.
333/2	Leontis	ca. 44	No. 9. *Hesperia* 9, 1940, 59-66, No. 8.
333/2	Pandionis	ca. 30 (37)	No. 8. *American Journal of Philology* 66, 1945, 234-239, a re-edition of *IG* II^2 2976
ca. 330/29	Oineis	ca. 56	No. 12. *Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 273-78.
324/3	Leontis	62	No. 15. Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς 1918, pp. 73-100, Nos. 95-97.
305/4	Erechtheis	ca. 28	No. 17. *IG* II^2 478.
	Akamantis	ca. 30	
	Aigeis	ca. 33	

It should be emphasized that the estimated number of epheboi for each tribe in a given year is a close appraisal of the number based on the actual number of names appearing on the stone plus the number which the extant remains of the stone indicate might have been reasonably accomodated on it. The estimates are on the conservative side. For three of the six records in the period 334/3-324/3, the full number of epheboi can be accepted as definitely known. Kekropis has 48 in 333/2 (?), Oineis, 56 in ca. 330/29 and Leontis, 62 in 324/3. The estimates of ca. 42 for Ke-

kropis in 334/3, of ca. 44 for Leontis in 333/2 and of 30 or 37 (more likely the latter figure since the names of lochagoi are invariably repeated in the rosters which can be checked) for Pandionis in 333/2, are certainly correct within at most two or three names.

The attempts to obtain greater accuracy in these figures has not been successful. The objection to the use of a simple average obtained from the relatively few tribes and years has been made (Pélékidis, *op. cit.* pp. 283-84) that the number of young men nineteen years of age in a given year will be greater or less depending upon whether the year of their birth was an ordinary year of 355 days or an intercalary year of 384 days, and that in years of both lengths the number of births would be affected by the duration of the absence of husbands from their homes on military service. It is a valid objection. The attempt to apply these pertinent facts to our scant data, however, is an exercise in futility.

Thus Pélékidis assumes without evidence that the enrolments of 334/3 and 333/3 were made up of men born in a "hollow" year (*op. cit.*, p. 286) and that the mean of a "hollow" year will be indicated by the number of epheboi in those years from Kekropis, the most populous of the ten tribes, and Leontis, one of the tribes with somewhat less than one-tenth of the whole citizen population, i.e. 38, which would yield a total of 380 epheboi. The relative population of the tribes is based on the studies of Sundwall (*Klio Beiheft* IV, *Epigraphische Beiträge*, pp. 88-91).

To obtain a mean for the "normal" year he first considers the lists of Leontis (No. 15) and of Oineis (No. 12) since "elles semblent toutefois appartenir à deux années normales" (p. 287), although he admits that the precise dates of neither list can be established and arrives at an average for a "normal" year of 58, i.e. 580 epheboi. He rejects this number, however, because Sundwall had concluded from his studies of tribal populations that both Leontis and Oineis were in the group of phylai with less than one-tenth of the whole population. To arrive at greater precision for the enrolment in a "normal" year he sets up the proportion: full ephebic contingent in a "normal" year is to the contingent in a "hollow" year (assumed as established at 380 epheboi) as the enrolment of Leontis in an (assumed) "normal" year (62, No. 15) is to the enrolment of Leontis in an (assumed) "hollow" year (35, No. 9), i.e. x: 380::62:35. He thus arrives at 673 epheboi in a "normal" year. He concludes (p. 288), "L'évaluation de la population libre d'Athènes vers

336-325 doit être fondée sur ce chiffre and (p. 292) that the ephebic contingent for one year should be reckoned at 650-700 and correspond to an adult male citizen population of 20,000.

The assumptions made and the method followed yield a figure which is obviously much too high compared with the actual numbers known to have been enrolled in the ephebia, and one may legitimately question whether it is as reliable as the number 480 obtained from a simple average. It is also inconsistent with his own figures. In the twelve year period 334/3 to 323/2 one would expect, on balance, four long years and eight short years which would yield an average of some 477 epheboi each year (4 times 380 plus 8 times 673, divided by 12).

For the number of Athenian citizens in the second half of the fourth century the *locus classicus* is Diod. 18, 18, 4-5. Antipater's imposition of a 2000 drachmai rating as the qualification for citizenship in 322/1 disenfranchised 22,000 (the MS reading) and left 9000 citizens, that is, there were 31,000 citizens prior to that date undoubtedly comprising all four classes including thetes. Gomme is almost alone among scholars who accept the manuscript reading of 22, 000. He felt that this was the only figure consistent with the statistics of the Lamian War which he had discussed earlier in his book (*Pop.* pp. 18 and 8), but Jones pointed out (*Ath. Democracy*, p. 149, Note 3) that the statistics discussed concern the hoplite forces engaged in the Lamian War (Diod. 18, 10, 2; 18, 11, 3) which would have little ascertainable relevance to the number of non-hoplite citizens.

That 21,000 was the approximate number of Athenian citizens before the new census rating of Antipater is confirmed for most scholars by the census taken under Demetrius of Phaleron some six years later, ca. 317/6, which found that number of Athenians "dwelling in Attica" (Ktesikles, *ap.* Athen. 6, 272 c; Jacoby, *FHG* II B 245 f. 1, p. 1128 whose dating I follow). Plutarch (*Phoc.* 28, 4) gave the number of those who were deprived of their status as citizens "because of their poverty" as 12,000. Boeckh (*Staatshaltung d. Athener* I p. 50) emended the text of Diodorus accordingly and his corrected reading has been generally accepted. Incidental corroboration of this approximate figure is the casual remark of the orator in the first speech *Against Aristogeiton* ca. 338-324 B.C. that there were something like 20,000 citizens in all ([Dem.] 25, 51) and that the distribution of the confiscated property of Diphilus

in ca. 330/29 on the basis of 50 drachmai to each citizen (another account gave 100 drachmai to each) would result in 19, 200 citizens.

Jones' study of the sources of information regarding the population of Attica in the fourth century, and particularly regarding the quantity of wheat which the population would normally consume led him to the conclusion that the grain locally produced and imported would support 21,000 citizens, 10,000 metics, 93,000 women and children (arbitrarily counted at three for each male citizen and metic), a total of 124,000 comprising the free population, in addition to some 20, 000 slaves.

Attempts to establish changes in the population of each tribe from their approximate equality at the time of their creation by Cleisthenes have yielded results which, while they may have validity as generalizations, break down in specific and isolated instances. We have referred to Sundwall's conclusions above which were reached after studying the bouleutic representation by demes in 307/6. In brief, this evidence seemed to indicate that Kekropis was the most, Aiantis, the least populous of the tribes, that the tribes with more than one-tenth of the whole population were Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, and that the tribes with less than one-tenth of the whole population were Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis and Hippothontis. The few ephebic enrolments we have, show no consistency at all with these conclusions. Kekropis, rated the most-populous tribe shows, in two consecutive years, 334/3 and 333/2, 42 and 48 epheboi (Nos. 2 and 5), while in one of these years, 333/2, Leontis, in Sundwall's classification one of the tribes with less than one-tenth of the population, surpassed the number of epheboi from Kekropis in 334/3 and almost equalled the complement of Kekropis in 333/2 with 44 epheboi (No. 9), and in 324/3 had the largest tribal contingent thus far recorded,—62 epheboi (No. 15). Similarly Oineis, classed with the phylai below the mean in population, had the second largest number of epheboi on record in the fourth century, 56 in ca. 330/29 (No. 12).

Gomme has recorded his own and Cavaignac's study of the comparative numbers of names known from each tribe as given in the *Prosopographia Attica* as a possible indication of relative tribal populations. The results suggest a different relative position from Sundwall's for Leontis, Kekropis and Antiochis (*Pop.* p. 50). It is apparent that we can gain little help from these sources to determine the proportion of the whole complement of the ephebic corps

represented by each tribal contingent and that the average of 48 from the known tribal enrolments yielding ca. 480 epheboi from the ten tribes is as reliable a figure as we can obtain with the evidence available to us at present.

Accepting 21,000 as the number of adult male citizens, the percentage of this number 18 and 19 years of age would give us the approximate size of the ephebic corps in a given year, assuming that epheboi were drawn from all classes of citizens. Age distributions based on modern statistics, of course, can be applied to Athens in the fourth century B.C. only as rough approximations and subject to many qualifications. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* III 2, p. 440) used the percentages obtaining in Italy at the close of the nineteenth century to obtain 530 (540) of both ephebic classes from 9000 citizens. Pélékidis extrapolated the calculation : 21,000 citizens on the same percentage distribution would result in 1260 epheboi annually or 630 for one ephebic class. On varying percentages of age distributions recorded at different modern periods in France and Italy there would be from 1350 to 1510 young men aged 18 and 19 (see his tabulated figures, *op. cit.* pp. 288-89). He adds that 630 epheboi a year roughly agrees "avec celui que nous avons établi." But the known enrolments which show some 150 epheboi fewer than the figure which he has "established" inspire little confidence in accepting its approximate accuracy.

A strikingly variant age distribution for fourth century Athens is proposed by Jones (*Ath. Democracy*, pp. 81-83) which would seem to fit more closely the average ephebic enrolment of 480 derived from the tribal contingents recorded in the inscriptions. The vital statistics of Athens of this period, Professor Jones thinks, correspond more closely with those ascertained for Roman Africa and Carthage under the principate, 1-250 A.D. and for India in the years 1901-10 than with the statistics from modern European countries and specifically England, in a study by A.R. Burns (*Past and Present* 4, 1953, pp. 1-31): the percentage of young men was higher as was also the death rate of men 20 to 60 years old,—roughly agreeing with the proportion of epheboi and arbitrators in fourth century Athens.

If true, the picture changes greatly. The number of young men eighteen and nineteen years of age would constitute about ten per cent of the adult males rather than six per cent according to the distribution followed by Beloch and Pélékidis. We have seen that

the number of 630 epheboi annually from 21,000 citizens which Pélékidis arrived at is a much larger number than is warranted by our known ephebic enrolments. It seems clear that the ca. 480 epheboi each year were drawn from a much more limited group. If, however, the epheboi were drawn from the 9000 citizens with a rating of 2000 drachmai, the age distribution proposed by Jones, there would be some 900 young men of these ages, roughly 450 in each ephebic class (Jones used the rounded figure 500). This number agrees pretty well with the number of epheboi recorded in our extant inscriptions of the period.

It seems very likely, as Jones suggests, that 200 drachmai was meant to be the minimum requirement for the zeugite class.* The number of epheboi each year would, on balance, be somewhat larger than the number admissible by a strict application of the requirement of zeugitic rating. The practise of not inquiring too closely into the property classification of a citizen presenting himself as a candidate for office mentioned by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 7, 4) was doubtless frequently followed when a thetes who fell short of the minimum zeugitic rating presented himself for admission to the ephebia. And the number of men on the borderline was apparently not inconsiderable (Jones, *op. cit.* p. 83).

There is some reason to believe that the minimum zeugitic rating of 200 medimnoi of grain under the Solonian and Cleisthenic constitutions and of 2000 drachmai in the fourth century which divided the hoplite classes from the thetes was lowered ca. 317/6 under the agreement reached between Cassander and the Athenians to 1000 drachmai.

In describing Antipater's ruling Diodorus (18, 18, 4-5) wrote, προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τιμήσεως εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τοὺς μὲν κεκτημένους πλείω δραχμῶν δισχιλίων κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας. The agreement of Cassander with the Athenians pro-

* I quote his note in full (*op. cit.* p. 142, Note 50): „It appears from Harpocration, s.v. θῆτες (citing Aristophanes) that θῆτες did not serve as hoplites; cf. Thuc. III. 16. 1, VI. 43, VIII. 24. 2. The Solonian classes were by the fourth century based on property, not income (Isaeus VII. 39). The figure of 2000 drachmae for zeugites is an inference from Diod. XVIII. 18. 4-5, on the assumption that Antipater set up a hoplite franchise. The figure was probably reached by multiplying by ten the Solonian income of 200 μέτρα (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.4), converted on the Solonian scale of values (Plut. *Solon*, 23) into 200 drachmae; this figure is slightly confirmed by the value of the Lesbian κλῆροι (Thuc. III. 50.2) which were probably intended to raise thetic occupants to zeugite status."

vided that τὸ πολίτευμα διοικεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τιμήσεως ἄχρι μνῶν δέκα (Diod. 18, 74, 3). In each case τὸ πολίτευμα is limited by a rating, in 322/1 by 2000 drachmai, in ca. 317/6, by 1000 drachmai. Does the rating in the first instance apply as a lower limit to zeugites and in the second to thetes ? A minimum rating for the thetic class was never set, so far as we have record. Certainly the inference is justified that the limitation in each case marked the line between citizens of the hoplite classes and the restricted citizenship of thetes.

The result would be to increase the number of citizens of the hoplite classes. We can only estimate how many of the 12, 000 citizens who could not meet Antipater's rating of 2000 drachmai in 322/1 were in possession of property worth half that amount (five years later) in ca. 317/6, and were able to qualify for τὸ πολίτευμα. The comparative figures would look something like this: in 322/1, 9000 hoplites with a rating of 2000 drachmai, 12,000 thetes, 21,000 citizens; in ca. 317/6, 9000 plus x number of hoplites with a rating of 1000 drachmai, x number of thetes, 21,000 citizens. As Ferguson pointed out long ago (*Hell. Ath.* p. 26) the problem of furnishing an adequate number of candidates qualified to carry on the work of the city from a base of 9000 was "insoluble."

This reckoning, however, takes no account of those who emigrated to Thrace and were there given land and a city by Antipater. Diodorus' account (18, 18, 4-5) states that Antipater removed ἅπαντας 22,000 (emended reading 12,000) from citizenship and offered a place for settlement "to those who wished it" in Thrace, while Plutarch (*Phoc.* 28, 4) records that of more than 12,000 who lost the franchise "some" remained in Attica and "some" migrated to Thrace. How many are "those who wished" and "some" ? Apparently not a very large number since both in 322/1 and in ca. 317/6 the sources give the total number of citizens as 21, 000. I am inclined to agree with Ferguson (*op.cit.* p. 26) that "It is improbable that many of the disenfranchised left Athens."

Gomme who accepts the manuscript reading of 22,000 disenfranchised citizens has a larger number available for emigration to Thrace and for a wide dispersion of Greeks which he feels took place after Alexander's conquest of Asia and which affected Athens as it did other Greek cities (*Pop.* p. 19). He reckons the hoplite classes at 14,500 and thetes at 13,500 in 323/2, and on the assumption that epheboi were drawn from those of hoplite census only, he finds that the ca. 500 epheboi known from the inscriptions

in the period 334/3-324/3 are consistent with these figures. Again the age distribution factor and the base to which it is applied will affect our conclusions regarding the correspondence.

To sum up: it would appear to me that the number of epheboi recorded in the few inscriptions extant from the period 334/3-324/3 were drawn from approximately 9000 citizens of the hoplite census. Discoveries of more inscriptions, could, to be sure, modify this conclusion. Further, it seems likely that the rating of 1000 drachmai current after ca. 317/6 was meant to be a new and lower minimum for the hoplite rating which in effect increased the number in this class in proportion to the thetic class.

This brings us to the next period in which we have data on the number of epheboi in this century, the year 305/4. *IG* II^2 478, the ephebic inscription of that year, on the basis of the registration of three tribes which can be closely estimated, indicates, as we have seen, a total enrolment of ca. 360 for twelve tribes. Two new tribes had been created just two years before at which time we may safely assume the numbers in each tribe were made relatively equal. This must assure us that the number based on the average for three tribes is a reasonably reliable figure approximating the actual number in the second-year ephebic class of that year.

Both Gomme (*Pop.* 19) and Ferguson (*Hell. Ath.* pp. 22 and 97, Note 3) hold that there was a decline in the population of Attica between 322/1 and 305/4. Although Ferguson apparently felt that the citizen population stood at the same figure in 322/1 as under the census of Demetrius of Phaleron, he thought that there was a shrinkage after the census caused by emigration (he instances those to Carthage and Antigoneia as typical) which would probably have brought the number of citizens in 306/5 to Sundwall's estimate (*Acta*, p. 22 ff.) of 15,000. Gomme (*Pop.* 9-10; 18-19 and Table I p. 26) after accepting the manuscript reading of 22,000 disenfranchised citizens in Diodorus posits a decline from 28,000 men 18-60 years of age in 323/2 to 21,000 in 313/2. It seems to me very unlikely that declines of such proportions took place in a short period of ten to fifteen years of relative peace and prosperity. The casualties in the Siege of Lamia and the Battle of Crannon, the only military activity of consequence in these years, were slight. The citizens leaving Athens to settle elsewhere were, so far as one can learn, not numerous, and were more than offset by the natural increase in the population. Both Jones (*op. cit.* pp. 76. 81) and

Pélékidis (*op. cit.* pp. 163 and 242) hold that the citizen population in the last third of the fourth century B.C. remained more or less stable at around 21,000 citizens.

The significant facts so far as ephebic enrolments are concerned are 1) that those who left Athens in this period to settle elsewhere came from "those alone who had no hope of restoration" (Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 26-27), that is from a class whose number would have little effect on the enrolment in the ephebia and 2) that the lowering of the rating which qualified for τὸ πολίτευμα from 2000 to 1000 drachmai and which presumably became the equivalent of hoplite rating, increased the number of hoplites and consequently the number of epheboi. Gomme recognized this fact (*Pop.* Table I p. 26 and note 12 on page 27) by classifying the 21,000 citizens in 313/2 as 12,000 (?) hoplites and 9000 (?) thetes.

The net result could only be an increase in the number of epheboi in 305/4 especially since all judicial examinations of those claiming citizenship under the new rating were abandoned at this time. Their resumption in 303/2 would not affect the situation in 305/4. When instead of an increase we find only ca. 360 epheboi in 305/4, it must be clear that even the assumption that 306/5 was a "hollow" year (Pélékidis, *op. cit.* p. 162) cannot explain the shrinkage from the ca. 480 for the period 334/3-324/3.

Taken together with the new method of honoring the epheboi of all tribes on one stone and the fact that ephebic service was reduced to one year, the conclusion seems inevitable that enrolment in the ephebia was no longer obligatory in 305/4. The momentum of the institution, its prestige, the glorious tradition of Athenian hegemony in Greece which was associated with the institution, would bring a large number of voluntary enrolments in the years immediately following the change.

Why Set up in the Piraeus ?

Aristotle states that the epheboi were first taken in a body on a circuit of the temple and "then go to the Piraeus," adding that some "garrison the Munichia, others the Point." When the service was limited to one year, in all likelihood, they spent most of that year in barracks at the Piraeus with trips to the frontier posts and it is only reasonable that an inscription honoring them should be set up there, possibly in the gymnasium (line 30) which was their habitual place for exercise and training.

An Estimate of the Dimensions of the Stone.

The height may be estimated as follows:

Fragment *a* (including vacat 0.10 m. and lines 1-11)	0.26 m.
From fragment *b*, lines 12-17 at 0.0145 a line	0.087 m.
From fragment *c*, lines 18-27 at 0.0145 a line	0.145 m.
From fragment *e*, line 28 at 0.0145	0.0145 m.
From fragment *d*, lines 29-31 and line *vacat* between the decree and the roster at 0.0145; lines 32-40 at 0.014	0.184 m.
From fragment *f*, lines 41-69 at 0.014 a line	0.182 m

There is a *vacat indeterminabile* from line 85, the initial Ṃ of the last name of Erechtheis preserved on fragment *e* to the continuation of the Erechtheids on fragment *g* with line 88, [...ca.5..]ης Δ[---. For reasons which I have given above, I think Kirchner's estimate that two lines are missing between fragments *e* and *g* at this point is a reasonable one. Granting this, we can continue: From fragment *g*, lines 88-113, plus two missing lines at 0.014 a line — 0.392 m.

Here we have another break in the roster of Erechtheis, between fragments *g* and *h-i*, but one where the configuration of the two fragments permits us to esmate with more confidence than in the case of the break between *e* and *g*, that two lines are missing after line 113 and before the first name which is read on fragment *h-i*, line 116, [.......ca.12-13.....] Ἑστιαί[ου]. This yields five additional lines for the epheboi from Erechtheis and adds to the height of the stone above line 119, [Ἀκαμαντ]ίδος, at 0.014 a line — 0.070 m.

The remaining lines on fragment *h-i* preserve the names of 14 epheboi and 5 deme names of Akamantis, 22 lines at 0.014 a line — 0.308 m.

Accepting Sundwall's estimate of some 30 epheboi from Akamantis we should add some 23 lines at 0.014 a line to accomodate 16 names of epheboi and seven deme names for an additional — 0.322 m.

If our premises above regarding the disposition of the names on the stone are accepted, the third series of four tribes across the stone, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis, should have a number of epheboi of the

magnitude of 25 plus each, and because of the relatively fewer demes in each an average of six to seven demotics. We shall not go far wrong in estimating 33 lines which with the 0.08 m. *vacat* below the names from Hippothontis on fragment *l* add 0.542 m.

The total height of the stone from the top of fragment *a* to the bottom of fragment *l* can thus be calculated to have been 2.5065 m. The anaglyph or relief which perhaps rested on the stele would increase its height.

The width of the inscribed line of 73 letters is ca. 0.9 m. A stele some three meters high and a something over a meter wide wuld seem to be indicated.

Previous Editions

U. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.* 4, 1879, 324; idem, *IG* II 5, 251 b (1895); J. Sundwall, *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae* 34 (4), 1907, 22-27; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² 478 (1913).

Literature

J. Beloch, *Klio* 5, 1905, 352; *Gr. Gesch.*² 3, 2, p. 401; J. Sundwall, *Klio Beiheft* 4, 1906, 81 ff.; W. S. Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios*, 164-5 (1907); *Hellenistic Athens*, 22. 97. 128 (1911); A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, 9 f. 56-57. 60. 63. 69; L. A. W. Yehya, "Athenian Epheboi towards the End of the 4th Century B.C.," *Proceedings of the African Classical Association* (Salisbury, S. Rhodesia) 1, 1958, 44-47; Chrys. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique*, 107. 157. 161-64. 171. 260.

18

REGULATIONS (?) CONCERNING THE EPHEBIA

ca. 305/4

IG II^2 556.

The stone cannot be found in the Museum of Piraeus where Lolling said he found it and made the transcription which Koehler used. Such information as we have comes from Koehler's publication (*IG* II 5, 251 c) and the edition of Dragatsis, Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889, 47. A fragment of bluish marble, H. 0.13 m., W. 0.18 m. Koehler states that it is not part of *IG* II^2 478 although both stones were found in the Piraeus and both have to do with the ephebia. He is clearly correct in thinking that the text should be dated ca. 305/4 and that its subject is the regulation of the ephebia. The imperatives in lines 10 and 12, as well as other words and phrases are consonant with this interpretation. Pélékidis (*Éphébie*, p. 164 and cf. also p. 260) thinks that line 6 may be part of a provision reducing ephebic service from two years to one year. His suggestion that in line 14, ὁ σ[τρατ]ηγὸς ὁ ἐ[πὶ τὰ ὅπλα] should be restored, ὁ ἐ[πὶ τῶι Πειραιεῖ] on the ground that since the inscription was found at the Piraeus, the epheboi were serving under that general, is pointless if the subject is, as I suspect it is, general regulations concerning the ephebia. I do not know what basis Pélékidis has for the statement (p. 164), "d'après la forme des lettres, qui ressemblent à celles de *IG* II^2 478," since I was unable to find the stone during a day's search at the Museum in Piraeus in 1951 and the only letter form given by the editiors is + equals φ (Lolling in Kirchner's edition). The find place is best given in Dragatsis' own words: ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῆς Μουνυχίας πρὸς Βορέαν τῆς ἐπαύλεως Κουμουνούρου.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[- - - - - - - - - σωφρο[νιστ - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - ς τοὺς κ - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - νόμον καὶ τ - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - ἡμέ]ρας οὐδεμιᾶ[ς - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - μου τέχνει οὐδ[εμιαῖ - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - ἐπειδὰν] δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐξ[ήκηι - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - ς προγράφειν εἰς - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - ῶι ἐνιαυτῶι ἄρχον[τας - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - ἐ]πιμεληθῆναι τῶν ἐ - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - στε]φάνωι καὶ δότω εἰς ἀ[ναγραφὴν - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - ουτος ἐπιμεληθῆναι - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - στε]φανωσάτω αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμ[ος - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - τὰ ὀνόμ]ατα τῶν σωφρονιστῶ[ν - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - ην[.]ν ὁ σ[τρατ]ηγὸς ὁ ἐ[πὶ τὰ ὅπλα - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - κοσμη]τὴς ὃς ἂν - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ωσιν ο - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ^^ ΙΑ - - - - - -]

19

(Plate XXX)

HONORS BESTOWED ON THE SOPHRONISTES OF THE TRIBE PANDIONIS

303/2. Archon, Leostratos.

IG II² 1159. *EM* 7712.

A stele of Hymettian marble consisting of three joined fragments and adorned with an ornate *aetoma*. The abacus of the *aetoma* with ovolo molding at the ends is 0.022 m. wide and immediately above it the heading θεοί is spaced across the stone, the initial letter of which is in line with the initial letters of the lines on the face of the stone. The stone is broken only below. H. 0.455 m., W. 0.35 m., Th. 0.98 m. The letters are well-formed. L.H. 0.007 m., L. Int. 0.015 m. Found on the Akropolis.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24
(linea 13, 25)

Θ Ε Ο Ι

Καλλ[ι]κράτης Καλλικράτους Π-
αιανιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Φιλων-
ίδης Καλλικράτους Κ[ο]νθυλῆθ-
εν σωφρονιστὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
χειροτονηθεὶς [τῶν] ἐφήβων τῶ-
ν ἐγγραφέντων τ[ῆ]ς Πανδιονίδ-
ος φυλῆς ἐπὶ Λε[ω]στράτου ἄρχο-
ντος καλ⟦λ⟧ῶς κ[αὶ] σωφρόνως καὶ
εὐτάκτως ἐπ[ι]μεμέληται αὐτῶ-
ν καὶ ἀποφ[αίν]ουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς
τὴν φυλὴν [οἱ] πατέρες τῶν ἐφήβ-
ων ἐπιμεμε[λ]ῆσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ν-
όμους τῶν [ἐ]φήβων, ἀγαθῆι τύχηι
δεδόχθαι [τ]ῆι Πανδιονίδι φυλ-
ῆι, ἐπαινέσαι Φιλωνίδην Καλλ-
ικράτου[ς] Κονθυλῆθεν ἀρετῆς
ἕνεκα [καὶ] ἐπιμελείας τῆς περ-
[ὶ τοὺς ἐφήβ]ους καὶ στεφανῶσα-
[ι αὐτὸν θαλλ]οῦ στεφάνωι, ὅπως
[καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν] ἕκαστος τῶν
[αἱρεθέντων σωφρονιστῶν] ἐπι-
[μελ- -]

This is the latest known appearance of the ephebic sophronistes as described by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42, 3) who was chosen by the people from three candidates proposed by the members of each tribe. He had the responsibility of supervising the epheboi of his tribe to whom he stood *in loco parentis*. The subsistence money of one drachma for himself and four obols for each ephebos was paid to him from the public treasury for the provision of the meals which were eaten in common. For some time sophronistai are not mentioned in ephebic inscriptions. Much later they appear again, in 139/40 (*IG* II^2 2044, 2-9), six men who apparently serve as officials of the whole body of young men and are not specifically attached to a single tribe. If, and how their functions differed from their predecessors with the same title, we cannot say. In 142/3 we find three names preserved (undoubtedly three additional names were originally inscribed) at the broken top of an inscription followed by the title and names of other ephebic officials. They are reasonably identified as sophronistai since the title and names of two hyposophronistai are read in the lower part of the stone (*IG* II^2 2049, 1-3. 150-152). Two years later the number was stabilized and continued throughout the later known history of the institution, six sophronistai and six hyposophronistai (*IG* II^2 2054, 5-17). From an inscription of this year it appears that one sophronistes and one hyposophronistes was assigned to each company (*systremma*) of epheboi for which it presumably bore special responsibility (*IG* II^2 2055). The latest known ephebic inscription (*Hesp.* 11, 1942, 71, No. 37) which may be placed in the period 260-267 after Christ, carries a group of names in the position usually occupied by these twelve officials. It also lists ten epheboi under the caption *systremmatarchai* who served as student company officers, from which one might infer that there were ten *systremmata* and that they were not coextensive with the twelve tribes which are represented on the stone. On the other hand, the coincidence of an equal number of sophronistai and of tribes coupled with the traditional association of this official with the young men of one tribe in an almost paternal relationship strongly supports the view that in the Imperial Period, as in the fourth century, the sophronistes and hyposophronistes were concerned primarily, each pair with its own tribal group.

The inscription itself is not dated. The use of the present participle, line 7, ἐγγραφέντων (cf. οἱ ἐνγραφέντες, *IG* II^2 478) in referring to the epheboi suggests that the chronological relationship between

Philonides' service as sophronistes and the decree in his honor was the same as that which we find existing in 305/4. *IG* II² 478 is dated 305/4 (archon, Euxenippos), but the decree honored the epheboi (line 10), το]ὺς ἐνγρ[αφέντας ἐπὶ Κοροίβο ἄρχοντος], that is those registered in 306/5 (see p. 000) and the conclusion must follow that the term of ephebic service was in that year one year. That it continued to be so in 303/2 is indicated by this inscription.

Previous Editions.

K. D. Mylonas, *BCH* 12, 1888, 148; U. Koehler, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Ak.* 1888, 247; *IG* II 5, 556 b; Michel, *Recueil*, p. 148, No. 137; J. Kirchner, *IG* II² 1159.

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(Plate XXXI)

FRAGMENTARY DECREE HONORING THE EPHEBOI OF AN UNKNOWN TRIBE

Fin. s. IV a. Hesp. 30, 1961, 8, No. 1 and Plate 2.

Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house (Agora, Grid R 9). H. 0.098 m., W. 0.46 m., Th. 0.091 m., L. H. 0.07 m. —0.01 m.

[- - - - - - - - ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφ]ηβοι οἱ ἐ[πὶ - - - ἄρχοντος
εὐτακτοῦσιν καὶ ποιοῦσιν πάντα ὅσα αὐτοῖς οἱ]
[νόμοι προστάττουσιν καὶ τῶι σωφρ]ονιστẹῖ̣ [πειθαρ-
χοῦσιν τῶι
χειροτονηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- -]

The words, οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ, commonly occur in the first clause of the decree honoring the epheboi. The letters in line 2, ονιστẹι̣, must belong to the title sophronistes, which would also strengthen the assumption that οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ is not part of the heading. A tribal inscription of the late fourth century is likely because of the occurrence of the title sophronistes so early in the decree.

THE ATTIC EPHEBIA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

The organization of the Attic ephebia which is reflected in the earliest inscriptions hitherto known from the years 334/3-323/2 must now be pushed back to the year 361/0 on the evidence of inscription No. 1 (Mitsos, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1967, 131-32). For it praises an official because ἐπεμελήθη τῶν νεανίσ[κων--- of a tribe who are identified as epheboi (lines 19-20). The honorary decree follows the formulae and pattern of the tribal inscriptions of the period 334/3-324/3 which praise the sophronistes of the tribe. Here, however, the stoichedon line demands the restoration of the kosmetes rather than the sophronistes. In any case there can be no question that a non-military official is the supervisor of an organized body of epheboi.

The inscription fulfills the expectation which was expressed by Pélékidis in 1962 (*Éphébie*, 8) that an ephebic inscription would some day be found securely dated before 336/5, and confirms his and my position (published in 1952, *TAPA* 83, 35-50) that the ephebia as a formal organization existed at least as early as the time of Aischines, 371/0. Nilsson rejected my interpretation in 1955 (*Hell. Schule*, 19-20 and Note 2) and repeated the idée fixe resulting from Wilamowitz' assertion that the ephebia was established in 336/5 by a law proposed by Epikrates as a reaction to the defeat at Chaeronea two years earlier. This position had been given wide currency by Marrou's arbitrary statement that "that institution (the ephebia) did not receive its definite form until a very much later date (than Aischines): in the days following the defeat at Chaeronea (338) and in consequence of a law for which it seems Epikrates was responsible, passed between 337-335" (H. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*²; first edition, 1948, 152).

It must now, however, be unmistakably clear that the ἄρχοντες to whom Aischines appealed as witnesses of his service (2, 167) as a frontier guard along with his συνέφηβοι, can be no other than the kosmetes, among others, and that the existence of the same organization which is attested in 361/0 must be extrapolated at least to ca. 371/0, some ten years earlier.

The assertion of Wilamowitz that the ephebic organization

was instituted *de novo* in 336/5 rested basically on the conflation of two pieces of evidence in the light of Aristotle's newly discovered *Constitution of Athens*: 1) the dating of several inscriptions concerning the epheboi in the year 334/3 (*IG* II² 1156, 1189, 2970) and 2) the statement of Harpokration (s.v. Ἐπικράτης) that Lykurgus had made mention in a speech on his administration of a man named Epikrates who was said to have possessed property in the value of 600 talents and who had been honored with a bronze statue for his law concerning the ephebia:..., ἕτερος δ' ἐστὶν Ἐπικράτης οὗ μνημονεύει Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ διοικήσεως, λέγων ὡς χαλκοῦς ἐστάθη διὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐφήβων, ὅν φασι κεκτῆσθαι ταλάντων ἑξακοσίων οὐσίαν. This Epikrates is otherwise not identifiable. The nature of his law can only be the subject of conjecture. Neither man nor measure can be dated.

The statement of Harpokration is subject to two interpretations,—one, Epikrates' law was responsible for the initial organization; two, it introduced innovations in an existing organization. The first is now untenable as applied to 336/5, since a formal organization existed as early as 361/0 and with the highest degree of probability ca. 371/0.

A sweeping reappraisal of the place of the Athenian ephebia in Athenian history is made necessary when we realize that the institution was in existence in the first quarter of the fourth century and was not formed in response to Chaeronea. There remains the second interpretation that Epikrates' law, or some other law, introduced changes in an existing institution. To examine this second interpretation and to bring into sharper perspective the picture of the ephebia in the fourth century which is blurred by the widely-held misconception about its origin, it will be well to review what we know about the ephebia from the *testimonia* of this century altogether apart from the description which Aristotle gives us of the institution ca. 325/4 (*Ath. Pol.* 42). The inscriptions give us the titles of two ephebic *archontes*,—the kosmetes, the head of the corps, the sophronistai, one for each of the tribes. There are didaskaloi for each of the tribes who are apparently not fixed in number, whose subject of instruction is not specified and who were not necessarily Athenians. Only once is an instructor in a special branch mentioned, the akontistes, instructor in javelin throwing (No. 12, p. 43 *in latere dextro*, 5-6). The epheboi receive praise for their guard duty at Eleusis by the Eleusinians themselves,

and similar decrees and wreaths in their honor by the inhabitants at the frontier posts of Rhamnous and Phyle are indicated by No. 5, p. 16 and the fragmentary inscriptions, No. 2, p. 5; No. 10, p. 34; No. 11, p. 39. The names of the generals of the Piraeus, the countryside and Akte appear in the inscriptions, but their precise relationship to the epheboi cannot be ascertained from the texts. The epheboi as a team participate in the games at religious festivals (No. 6, p. 17; No. 10, p. 34; No. 13, p. 51).

The ephebic texts of the fourth century reflect a military organization of the epheboi which duplicates and parallels the regular military organization of the tribe itself. Leonardos recognized as early as 1918 that the lochagoi in the inscription of 324/3 (No. 15, p. 58) were cadet captains from among the epheboi themselves since the names of the lochagoi were repeated in the roster of epheboi. An inscription of 333/2 (No. 9, p. 26 Col. I 21) gave us our first specific mention of the taxiarch. The editor interpreted the reference to be the chief military officer of the tribe and suggested that he named the ephebic lochagoi as he did the captains in the regular service. But Mitchel (*TAPA* 92, 1961, 347-57) has conclusively shown that the taxiarch must be an ephebos as he is unquestionably shown to be in the only other specific mention of this officer in ephebic inscriptions to date (No. 5, p. 16) by the fact the young man named the taxiarch is listed among the epheboi. Mitchel has demonstrated too that the epheboi constituted a miniature tribal organization, the ephebic tribe, organized as a military unit corresponding to the tribe itself.

Five names appearing in citation which repeat the names of epheboi in the roster of the inscription of 330/29 (?) (No. 12, p. 43 lines 68-78) are certainly lochagoi and the name without title in a citation *in latere dextro*, Naukydes, son of Diogenes, may be recognized as the ephebic taxiarch since Naukydes appears in the roster (Col. II 52) as an ephebos from Acharnai and his name is cited separately and apart from the five lochagoi. The restoration [ταξίαρχ]ος as a title above one name and of [λοχαγ]οί above ten names in the inscription dating from the period 333/2-324/3 (No. 14, p. 56) is the only reasonable possibility in the light of our knowledge of the ephebic organization. Another ephebic taxiarch must be recognized in Lysistratos, son of Euxenos, Kettios, whose name appears both in citation on the left side of the inscription, but without title, and as the first ephebos under Kettioi in the

text of 324/3 (No. 15, p. 58). These instances make clear a fact which must be strongly emphasized,—that the ephebia in the fourth century was organized on military lines to carry out a military purpose: the training of the first two cadres of the 42 age-groups for active military duty. It is significant that the inscription of 324/3 is the last one to make mention of cadet officers.

From Aischin. 2, 167 we obtain two important additional facts about the epheboi: 1) he states that he entered the service ἐκ παίδων μὲν γὰρ ἀπαλλαγείς, i.e. after becoming 18 years of age; (For a good discussion of the meanings and uses of ἥβη, ἐφ' ἥβης, ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῆσαι, see Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, pp. 50 ff. Cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebia" in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, No. 194, New Series, No. 14, 1968, 49-64, for the primitive ritual associated with the period of transition from puberty to manhood by which the epheboi in the non-technical sense were received into the phratry after consecrating their shorn hair on the third day of the Apaturia. Vidal-Naquet finds many survivals of the ritual and of the myth of Melanthus which he connects with it in the historical ephebia); and 2) Aischines' service consisted of frontier guard duty and lasted two years, whether continuously or only seasonably is not clear.

All these facts, so far as they go, are in agreement with what Aristotle tells us about the ephebia of ca. 325/4. There is, I think, no real contradiction between Aischines' statement that in both ephebic years his duties were those of a peripolos or border guard and Aristotle's account that the epheboi in their first year went to the Piraeus and garrisoned Munichia and Akte and in the following year, after receiving a shield and a spear, served on patrol duty in the country and were quartered in frontier forts. For after this detailed description of their service he sums up the activity of both ephebic years,—φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη, "moreover, they serve as guards for two years," which is precisely what Aischines' casual and general statement says.

Additional basic features of the ephebia we learn from Aristotle alone: 1) the two years of liability for ephebic service were an indispensable condition for full citizenship; 2) the polis furnished subsistence during the period of service, which 3) was continuous; and 4) that they were provided with the military equipment of a hoplite soldier from public funds.

From the earliest times obligatory military service was always

held to be a part of a citizen's duty in Athens as elsewhere. The principle and practise of pay for military, as well as for civilian service to the state became operative in Athens as early as 478/7 when citizens serving in the navy were granted subsistence allowances and when, according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 24) 20,000 men were supported by the combined proceeds of the tributes and the taxes (the actual number specified by categories is 15,750). It is well-known that under Pericles pay was given to soldiers and to magistrates and jurymen as well. The putative reorganization of the ephebia in 336/5 could not then have consisted in making ephebic service obligatory nor in introducing payment for it, since both these practises had been well-established long before that year. Nor could the two-year training period have been made a requirement for full citizenship at this time, since Aristotle specifically states that the eleventh change in the constitution which he is describing was established "after the return from Phyle and from Piraeus from which date the constitution has continued down to its present form..." (*Ath. Pol.* 41, 2), i.e. it is the constitution established by Thrasyboulos in 403/2. This constitution provided that citizenship belonged to persons of citizen parentage on both sides who are registered on the rolls of the deme *and* who have served as patrols of the country for two years in the ephebia. Obligatory ephebic service for two years was prerequisite for citizenship in the constitution of 403/2. The basis on which citizenship is held is one of the fundamental provisions of any constitution and it is hard to believe that a change in this regard should remain unnoticed in an account of the development of the constitution.

I had been previously inclined to believe that Lycurgus might have been responsible for making ephebic service obligatory and a condition for citizenship as well as state-supported. (In a paper, "The Spirit of Athens after Chaeronea" presented to the Fifth Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Cambridge, England, 23 September, 1967), but I cannot now reconcile that position with the considerations stated above. The revolutionary innovation of making full citizenship dependent upon two years of military training in the ephebia would be a radical alteration in the constitution, not merely an alteration in the organization of the ephebia, and the remarkable Law against Tyranny which had been passed in 337/6 (*Hesp.* 21, 1952, 355-359, No. 5), just one year previous to the

commonly assumed reorganization of the ephebia in 336/5, should strongly suggest that radical changes in the existing constitution were not, to put it mildly, consonant with the temper of the times.

Minor changes in the constitution of Thrasyboulos doubtless were made between 403/2 and ca. 325/4. Aristotle himself adds, after making the statement previously quoted in part,—that the constitution continued from 403/2 to his own day, ...ἀεὶ προσεπιλαμβάνουσα τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἐξουσίαν, "ever making additions to the power of the masses." Aristotle mentions some of the changes in the constitution he is describing from the previous order of things, e.g. in connection with the Boule's competence in passing sentences of fines, imprisonment and death (*Ath. Pol.* 45, 1); in disqualifying magistrates (45, 3); even in the trivial matter of approving the pattern of the robe made for Athena (49, 4). For our present argument it is not relevant to enter into the question whether these modifications occurred between 403/2 and ca. 325/4 or prior to the constitution of Thrasyboulos. They are adduced to show Aristotle's practise of noting significant changes and the unlikelihood of failing to mention that the requirement for citizenship had been changed after the establishment of the constitution of 403/2.

The ephebic organization could hardly have been unaffected by the program of Lycurgus. Indeed a revivification of the organization is reflected, if by nothing else, by the number of ephebic inscriptions extant from the period around 334/3. This capable and energetic statesman put the finances of the city on a sound basis, raised the revenues of Athens from 600 to 1200 talents a year, restored the fleet, refitting old ships and building new, embarked on a program of completing partly-finished public structures and providing new, restored the operation of the public cults, replaced on the Akropolis seven missing statuettes of Nike in order to bring the number of these gold figures up to the original ten placed there by Pericles, and among many other things, promoted trade and commerce. It was a program not of innovation but of restoration. Its purpose was to bring back the *status quo ante* of Athenian prominence and leadership in Greece. Lycurgus embarked upon no new policies and programs. He strengthened and made more effective the old.

This was doubtless his approach to the ephebia. Of course he did not touch the basic features: liability for ephebic duty during a two-year period as a condition for citizenship and support of the

epheboi from public funds; as parts of an existing constitution they remained. But certain fairly simple modifications could be made which would contribute greatly to its effectiveness as a means to the end he sought. Reorganization is much too strong a term to apply to these changes which in the end however had a profound effect on the development of the institution. Like all other military units the ephebia served in time of war, and in times of peace like those units for which the state commonly provided military training, the cavalry and elite troops (Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde*[3], 4, 1, 1, 1, pp. 571, 581, note 3) only seasonally and on call and not continuously throughout the year. The notorious aversion to military duty had doubtless led to laxity and perfunctory performance under this system. The effectiveness of the Spartan army, which with other things Spartan he held in high regard, and the Macedonian army with which his country had recently had first-hand experience rested to a large extent, as in most armies, on the length and continuity of their training and/or actual fighting together as well as on their morale. To achieve this efficiency among the yong cadres of citizen soldiers, Lycurgus in all probability made their service continuous throughout the two year-period of their liability for duty and extended the established principle of pay to the longer period of actual service.

Prior to this the epheboi were doubtless free to follow their own pursuits even as the older citizens during the part of the year not occupied by military duties. Hence Glaucon could ἐπεχείρει δημαγορεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν προστατεύειν τῆς πόλεως οὐδέπω εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς (Xen. *Mem.* 3, 6, 1) and the young man who had just passed his dokimasia could go off to Abydos (Antiphon, fgt. 67 (69) ap. Athen. 12, p. 525 b) and Alkibiades and other young men had time to engage in their normal activities even in their ephebic years. (A. A. Bryant collected instances of this kind to disprove the existence of an ephebic organization before the time of Aristotle, *HSCP* 18, 1907, 76-88.)

Under the new system, the Athenian ephebos lived in barracks the year round. To keep him from diverting his attention to other than his military duties, he was excused from appearing in court except in specified cases. He did not as before provide his own food and eat with whom he wished, but in a common mess with his own tribesmen. His off-duty hours were subject to the supervision of a sophronistes, a man of his own tribe elected by the

fathers of the epheboi from that tribe, who took their place vis à vis their sons. The arrangement that each tribe mess together and that the sophronistes purchase the food from the funds provided by the state, four obols for each man and one drachma for himself, and further that the same officer, the sophronistes, τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42, 3) which needed attention in the household of the tribe, provided, in Lycurgus' opinion, the disciplinary supervision which was required to make the civilian an effective soldier.

Lycurgus recognized that the best military commander could not always be found within the tribe, and therefore he reformed the system by permitting the election of generals from the whole people without regard to the tribe. He also apparently recognized that Nestor's advice to Agamemnon to range men who were related side by side in battle, phratry by phratry, phyle by phyle, so that fighting under the eyes of relatives they would realize that κατὰ σφέας μαχέονται (*Il.* 2, 365), had validity off, as well as on the battlefield in promoting esprit de corps. A pupil of Plato and with him an admirer of Spartan training he surely felt that the syssitia system developed the feeling of solidarity, cooperation, mutual support and mutual dependency so vital to the morale particularly of a citizen army. These qualities resulted from continuous association and the maintenance of individual as well as group discipline.

These changes in the ephebic organization are consonant with everything we know about Lycurgus. He was a patriot of the old school who keenly felt that the first duty of a citizen was military service. Failure to render it was the worst crime. Lysikles, the general at Chaeronea was punished with death; Autolykos and Leokrates were prosecuted for avoiding the responsibility of a citizen in this regard by leaving the city after the battle, the latter eight years after the event !

Conversely a good soldier must be a good citizen. Equally important with more extensive military training, therefore, is training in citizenship,—the cultivation of a sense of responsibility for the common weal, of behavioral discipline, of morals, of all that is implied in εὐκοσμία, κοσμιότης and σωφροσύνη. Lycurgus, we may assume, took measures to transfer his logic into action and thus initiated modifications in the ephebia which were eventually to transform it from a purely military, into an educational organization.

Whether he or someone else was responsible for the first appointment of sophronistai, the tribal officers who exercised general supervision over the behavior and the morals of the epheboi, we cannot positively state. It is significant, however, that the one inscription we have prior to 334/3, the new inscription securely dated in 361/0, apparently makes no mention of a sophronistes. Unfortunately the title of the official who is honored for his ἐπιμελεία τῶν ἐφήβων must be supplied, but the restoration of kosmetes is almost certain. The stoichedon line does not permit the restoration of sophronistes, the title of another known official or a military title which was associated with the epheboi. The official regularly decreed honors for his epimeleia of the epheboi in the inscriptions from 334/3-323/2 is the tribal sophronistes. Although the expression ἐπιμελεία τῶν ἐφήβων is applied to others in this period,—strategoi, the kosmetes and ephebic didaskaloi, it was specifically and characteristically the function of the sophronistes. (Cf. Gomme, *Population*, p. 68 and Pélékidis, *Éphébie*, pp. 134-135.). The sophronistai who were honored with a crown by the deme Axione (*IG* II² 1199, ca. 325/4) were apparently not ephebic sophronistai (cf. Oehler, *RE* Zweite Reihe, 3, 1106).

The features of the ephebia which amazed students of Greek history and which made it unique in Greek history were not the obligatory nature of the military service nor the fact that it was supported by public funds, but that it encroached upon the freedom of the individual to order his own life as he wished in matters of education and of morals, free from the restraints of supervisory officials like the sophronistai. The area of education and of morals had been, by and large, the preserve of the private citizen. It was primarily for this reason that an early origin for the ephebia was vehemently denied by some scholars.* But the

* The tone was set by Wilamowitz (*Aristoteles und Athen* I 191): Diese ephebenordnung ist ein wunderbares ding. ein vom volke gewählten 'ordnungswart' an der spitze, 10 'zuchtmeister' unter ihm . . . zwei turnlehrer, je ein lehrer für die verschiedenen waffen, erziehung in casernen, auf staatskosten, streng von der corruption des lebens entfernt . . . : das ist eine institution die grell von der ἐλευθερία der παρρησία dem ζῆν ὡς ἄν τις βούληται abstecht auf die die demagogen Athens damals so stolz sind, wer über diese institution nicht zuerst den kopf schüttelt, dem ist das athenische leben und denken vollkommen fremd geblieben, mag er auch dicke bücher darüber geschrieben haben.

On the same grounds, Schoemann felt that the sophronistes could not have existed when Demosthenes delivered his speech on the False Legation (Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.*⁴ p. 553, Anm. 4).

objection is without validity since it is based on the false assumption that the early ephebia was necessarily in all respects like the ephebia described by Aristotle.

Indeed, it would seem that the most important change that occurred in the ephebia in the time of Lycurgus was a change not so much in the organization but in the spirit animating the young soldiers in the ephebia. There was a revival of patriotism and of morale, an inculcation of a sense of pride in themselves and in their country and a sense of identification with it which was now, perhaps for the first time promoted by colorful parades and reviews of the epheboi uniformed in distinctive black chlamys and petasos, by their employment as an honor guard at sessions of the Ekklesia, by their formal investiture with sword and shield held annually in the theatre with eclat and pomp, and by their special status of exemption from taxes and freedom from appearance in court except in special cases.

Continuous service throughout two years made possible the expansion of the training program which was now systematized under specialists assigned to the ephebic corps and not confined to the random apprentice training which was previously gained under non-professional citizen-officers in the field. We learn of only one such officer from the inscriptions of this century, the akontistes (ca. 330/29, No. 12, p. 43 Right Side, 5-6), but we know from Aristotle that instructors in other specific branches of military science were provided, in hoplomachy, archery, javelin throwing and in the use of the catapult. The extended program included para-military physical education along with special training in gymnastics and coaching for athletic competition. Strangely enough the two paidotribai who, according to Aristotle, were elected by the whole people also do not appear in fourth century inscriptions, although they were doubtless active and were very likely introduced by Lycurgus under the expanded ephebic regimen of training. As lower echelon members of the staff they were not singled out for honorary mention in the inscriptions. The fragmentary inscription praising a paidotribes, *IG* II^2 585, 9-11, ἐπει[δὴ. . . .^{8}. . . .ὁ παιδοτ]ρίβης εὐ[τάκτως. . . .^{8}. . . . τῶι δ]ήμωι. ., is to be dated ca. 300 B.C. (Meritt, *Hesp.* 5, 1936, p. 547) or later.

We know that the building program of Lycurgus included the conversion of the old gymnasium in the Lyceum and its palaestra into a stone structure. Doubtless gymnasia were set aside, or

specifically built for the use of the epheboi, certainly in Athens and in the Piraeus together with all the facilities pertaining to them.

In brief resume the following picture of the ephebia in the fourth century B.C. emerges as a reasonable and consistent reconstruction of the information we can gain about it from our inscriptional and literary sources. In the early fourth century the ephebia appears as a military organization of the young men 18-20 years of age under a civilian head. The corps is under the general command of the strategoi. Like all other military units it carried out its duties for only a part of the year during the two years' liability for service. The epheboi were apparently organized in the way indicated by the inscriptions of the period 324/3-323/2, with cadet taxiarchoi and lochagoi paralleling the regular military officers of the tribe. Ca. 336/5 a revivification of the ephebia occurred under Lycurgus with the introduction of two new features which were designed to increase its military effectiveness: service is made continuous throughout two years and a sophronistes is elected for each tribe whose function it is to indoctrinate the civic virtues of discipline, orderliness and self-control, qualities which, in Lycurgus' view, were essential to making a good soldier. The irony is that the introduction of sophronistai and didaskaloi in order to make the ephebia a more effective military unit led to its demise as a military institution and its transformation into an educational organization.

For ephebic taxiarchoi and lochagoi as well as sophronistai disappear altogether from the ephebia at the end of the fourth century. The term of service is shortened to one year and along with this change, the obligation to serve and state support cease. Its purpose is no longer primarily or even largely military. Eventually (in the time of Sulla) the military instructors are dropped. The ephebia gradually becomes an educational institution and an athletic club with military trappings, attendance at which is voluntary and largely confined to an elite group drawn from the most influential and wealthiest families of Attica. As early as 119 B.C. (*IG* II² 1008), the ephebia was open to foreigners and young men from Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and other cities of the Mediterranean world were numbered among the epheboi.

Once we rid ourselves of the notion that the ephebia was always organized as Aristotle described it, many of the difficulties and objections to an early origin of the institution disappear and we

are in a position to form a clearer and more accurate picture of its development.*

The objections centered around these points: 1) there was no proof of a "formal" organization; 2) young men of ephebic age enjoyed a freedom of activity in the fifth and early fourth centuries impossible for young men who were quartered in barracks during this period of their lives; 3) compulsory supervision of their personal lives by sophronistai and education at state expense were inconsistent with Athenian theory and practise in regard to these matters; and 4) references to the ephebia are virtually non-existent in the literary sources of the period.

These objections largely disappear when one realizes that the ephebia in its early stages was a purely military organization and that the epheboi like other citizen-soldiers did not carry out their military duties the year round. Aischines (2, 167) speaks of his ephebic service as service in the field (περὶ στρατείας) and states that "As soon as I passed out of boyhood I became one of the frontier guards (peripoloi) of the land for two years." Apparently, however, Aischines did not immediately enter upon his military duties, since Demosthenes recounts that immediately (εὐθέως) after Aischines had been enrolled in his deme he entered employment as a secretary and continued in that occupation for some time before he was discharged from it (Dem. 18, 261). Our literary sources present several other instances of young men who in the late fifth and first half of the fourth centuries pursued other than military activities during their ephebic years (see page 129) which leads us to the conclusion that while epheboi were liable to call for service as peripoloi for a two year period, they did not actually serve continuously during that time. What Busolt calls "die allgemeine, reguläre Dienstpflicht" was apparently introduced in Boeotia after the battle of Leuctra in 371 and at Athens in the middle of the fourth century, when Busolt thought (wrongly) that the ephebia was created. (*Gr. Staatskunde*, 4, 1, 1, 1, pp. 576-77).

It is most significant that the newly discovered inscription of 361/0 does not honor the sophronistes who is regularly singled out for praise in the later inscriptions of the period 334/3-323/2 and that, in fact, this official completely disappears from the ephebia

* I have treated the "Genesis of the Athenian Ephebia" from a developmental viewpoint with some detail in *TAPA* 83, 1952, 34-50, and shall here confine myself to general statement of points which I have there documented.

after 303/2. The simplest explanation is that sometime after 361/0 and before 334/3, sophronistai were created to fulfill a function not before deemed necessary in order to carry out the purpose of the ephebia, the inculcation of the civic virtues.

During this very period, too, (334/3-ca. 305/4) the epheboi lived together in barracks for two successive years. A corollary to continuous service was the availability of more time for an expanded program of training. The practical military training which the epheboi gained while acting as peripoloi was doubtless supplemented by para-military training in gymnastics and by coaching in athletic contests in which we know the epheboi of this period participated as a group. There was now time for formal instruction in specific military branches, i.e. theory was added to the practise of the military arts. Didaskaloi were also appointed, whose subjects of instruction surely included non-military matters since they appear in addition to the instructors in the strictly military specialties.

A second corollary to continuous service was the problem of discipline, always a difficult matter in the case of young soldiers, and especially so in times of peace. The kosmetes was able to provide the supervision for the young soldiers away from parental observation for the first time, so long as they were on active duty under regular military officers for apprenticeship training during part of the year, but his efforts needed supplementation when they were on uninterrupted duty for two years. Only a man like Lycurgus with his strong convictions regarding what the state had a right to expect of its citizens and its soldiers would feel that more than military discipline was required. Hence the sophronistai whose function it seems to have been to train the young men, as parents would their sons, in ways of order, behavior and decorum. This invasion of the parental domain seems to have evoked a negative reaction, since, as has been noted, sophronistai were dropped from the ephebia ca. 303/2. The sophronistai who re-appear in the ephebia in the time of the emperor Hadrian are related to the sophronistai of the fourth century B.C. primarily in name.

It must be clear now, too, why little mention is made of ephebic training in the many discussions of education, morals and citizen behavior in Isocrates, Plato, Xenophon and other ancient authors of the period. Much has been made of this fact in discussions about the origins of the ephebia. All of which loses much of its point when

one realizes that the ephebia prior to the middle of the fourth century B.C. had nothing at all to do with these areas of life. It was, to repeat, a purely military organization; whatever else it accomplished for its members beyond military training was incidental. True, it had, early in the fourth century at any rate, a civilian head, the kosmetes; it was made up of the two youngest of the 42 age-groups for military service and was, like the oldest age-groups, active only as a militia and not outside the country. So long as these were the only features which distinguished the group of epheboi from the other soldiers, epheboi and the ephebia did not call for any more mention than any other age-group or military unit. The "separateness" of the ephebic soldier was at once strikingly marked out by the continuity and by the nature of their military duties for an unbroken two-year period. It is reflected in the closing sentence of Aristotle's description of their activities during that time,—"When the two years are up, ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν." For the first time in Athenian history a unit of the army was in continuous military service apart from other units throughout two years and at the end of the period they are again "with the others."

That a military organization of epheboi as a separate unit, serving as other units during a part of the year only, without sophronistai and without the educational features of non-military or para-military instruction which are described by Aristotle, existed in the fifth century is, in my judgment, indicated by the fact that the military oath is specifically called the oath "of the epheboi." It seems to me that the assumption is reasonably made that when Alkibiades reminded the Athenians sometime after the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C. of τὸν ἐν 'Αγραύλου προβαλλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὅρκον, the ἀεί covers the time when, on becoming a member of that group, he took the oath prior to his participation in the battle Potidea in 432 B.C., apparently during his ephebic years.

A black-figured vase (certainly to be dated not later than the fifth century B.C.) in the Hermitage in Leningrad pictures a young man standing before an altar, dressed in a chlamys and equipped with shield and spear while Nike holds a helmet in readiness for him. Conze (*Annali dell' Inst. di corr. arch.*, XL 266, Pl. 1) correctly, I think, identifies the setting as "Giuramento da Efebo" in spite of the fact that according to Pollux (8, 164) the petasos

rather than the helmet was the distinctive headgear of the epheboi.

Similarly, I see in the sculptured equestrian figures on the Ionian frieze of the Parthenon which are depicted wearing petasos and chlamys representatives of the early ephebia in the Panathenaic procession (Gustave Fougèrè, *L'Acropole. Le Parthenon*, Deuxiesme Sèrie, Pl. 81, West Frieze IX 16, 17; Pl. 86-87 and Pl. 94, South Frieze XX 49, 50, restored).

In the absence of specific *testimonia*, we can only make a conjecture about the beginning of an ephebic organization. I repeat here what I wrote in 1952 (in the article already referred to, *TAPA* 83, p. 50, with indicated corrections):

> "If one were to hazard a suggestion about the period in which the young men of Athens were first called upon to undergo organized military training, one might with some justification propose the period after the Persian War when the Council of the Areopagus was at the head of affairs. Themistocles had laid the foundations of a great navy which had proved its worth at Salamis. The naval victory had followed hard upon the heady success at Marathon. The finances of the state were flourishing as a result of the discovery of the mines at Maronea (Arist. *Ath.* 22, 7). Augmented in 478/7 by the tribute from the allied states, the revenues of Athens were sufficiently large to underwrite the costly undertaking. At the same time, writes Aristotle (*Ath.* 24, 1), the Athenians were "emboldened" to take the advice of Aristeides (for the reading *in loco citato* of Themistocles) that they should aim at leadership. Aristeides (for Themistocles) had told them that there would be food for all, "some serving in the army and others as guards and others conducting the business of the state." The juxtaposition of service in the army and service as guards suggests the contrast between the services of the mature citizen and the preliminary service of the young citizens which we see in the ephebia. Among those who actually received subsistence from the state under the policy Aristeides (for Themistocles) had suggested to the Athenians Aristotle lists φρουροὶ νεωρίων πεντακόσιοι (*Ath.* 24, 3). One is tempted to identify them with οἱ φρουροῦντες in Arist. *Ath.* 24, 1 referred to above and the young men later called ephebes. At this time, too, there was training for war: "For during this time it occurred that the

> people practised military duties and won high esteem among the Greeks and gained the supremacy of the sea against the will of the Lacedaemonians' (*Ath.* 23, 2). Finally it was a time when warfare and power relations among states were at a stage which permitted citizen armies to be effective."

Pélékidis reached the same general conclusion: "A notre sens, l'éphébie remonte au moins à la première moitié du V^{e} siècle av. J.-C.. . ." (*Éphébie*, p. 79).

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[Mitchel, Fordyce W. Lykourgan Athens: 338-322. Lectures in memory of Louise Taft Semple (Second Series). Preliminary publication not for sale. The University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1970.
This work appeared too late to be used here. His non-committal attitude on the details of Lycurgus' actions regarding the ephebia, pp. 37-40 is indicated by his statement on p. 37: "The spate of ephebic honorary decrees and monuments belonging to the Lykourgan period (in contrast to the one decree definitely known to have been passed in all the years prior to Chaironeia) surely indicates a new approach to the existing practises, whatever they may have been, concerned with the training of the eighteen- and nineteen-year-old youths for military service and citizenship."]

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Δικαιοκράτης Εὐμ[---] Περγασῆθεν. In list of names, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II² 2401, 10. *53*
Δικαιοκράτης Περγασῆθεν. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 12. *51*
Διόγνητος Κεφαλῆθεν. In an unidentified list of names, ca. 330/29. *IG* II² 2411, 22. *100. 101*
Διόδωρος 'Αχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 54. *42*
Διόδωρος Καλλιμάχου Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 8. *58*
Διοκλῆς Λανπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 23. *51*
Διοκλῆς Διοκλέους Λαμπτρεύς. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 143/4 or 144/5. *IG* II² 2050, 47. *54*
[Δι]οκλῆς [---] Φηγα[ιεύς]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 156. *90*
Διοκλῆς Φηγαιεύς. Gravestone, *III/II a. IG* II² 7634. *101*
Διον[--- ---]. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 64. *88*
Διονύσιος Γαργήττιος. Phylarch, 286/5-261/0. 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 18, Part I 1963, 104, No. 1, 28. *96*
Διονύσιος Διονυσίου 'Ελαιούσιος. Ephebos of Hippothontis, ca. 260-267 A.D. *Hesp.* 11, 1942, 72, No. 37, 121. *97*
Διονύσιος Θεοφίλου 'Ελαιούσιος. Proposer of a decree, 209/8. *IG* II² 844, 33-34. *97*
[Δι]ονύσιος [Σ]τρατ[--- Γ]αργή[ττιο]ς. Gravestone. *Hesp.* 17, 1948, 47, No. 43. *96*
Διονύσιος Σωκράτους Φυλάσιος. Kosmetes, 123/2. *IG* II² 1006, 56. *45*
[...⁷....] Διο[νυσί]ου Γαργήττιος. Ephebos of Antigonis, 305/4. No. 17, 39. *88*
[---] Διονυσιου ['Ελαι]ούσιος. Ephebos of Hippothontis, 305/4. No.17, 78. *89*
Διονύσιππος Εὐαγγέλου Σουνιεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 29. *59*
Διονυσόδοτος Πυθαράτου Δεκελειεύς. Councillor of Hippothontis, ca. 335/4. *IG* II² 1700, 176-77. *66. 67*
Διοπείθης Διοδώρου. Choregos, *init. s. IV a. IG* II² 3092, 2. *47*
Διοσκουρίδης Θεοφάνους Εὐωνυμεύς. Proxenos of Oropos. 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1892, 45, line 75. *IG* II² 3851, 1, *init. s. III a.* honors his father, Θ. Δ. Ε. who had served as agonothetes. *98*

[Διοσκο]υρί[δ]ης [Σιβυρ]τίου or [Κλεοπ]ειθ[ο]υ[ς] Εὐωνυμεύς. Gravestone. Restoration of *IG* II² 6201, *Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 174-75, No. 368. *98*
Διότιμος Φυλάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 14. *42*
Διοφάντης Καλλίου ἐκ Κεραμέων. Dedicant, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II² 4385. *100*
Διοφάντος Διογένους Ἀχαρνεύς. In catalogue of cleruchs, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II² 1952, 34. *47*
Δορκεὺς Κοθωκίδης. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 66. *43*
[---]δοτος [---]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. III 4. *27*
[--- ---]δου. Ephebos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, Col. II 2. *21*
Δωσίθεος Ἀντιγένου Σκαμβωνίδης. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 11. *58*
Δῶρος Σμικύθου Μελιτεύς. Secretary of the Boule and the Demos, *post s. IV a. IG* II² 1751, 62. *8*
[--- ------]εα. Sophronistes, 305/4. No. 17, 16. *87*
[---]έας Μνησι[---]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. III 6. *27*
[---]έης Κι[--- ---]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 28. *27*
[....⁹.....]εια[---]. Paidotribes, 305/4. No. 17, 26. *88*
Εἴδων Ἀγρυλῆθεν, Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 33. *52*
Εἰρεσίδης, Proposer of a decree, 361/0. No. 1, 14. *2*
[--- --- ἐκ] Κεραμείων. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 14. *56*
[...⁵..]ένης Σωσι[--- Εὐ]ωνυμε[ύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 94. *90*
Ἐξώπιος. Owner of mining property, 367/6. *Hesp.* 10, 1941, 16, No. 1, 43-44. 62. *63*
Ἐξώπιος Φαιδρίου Αἰθαλίδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 16. *59*
Ἐπ[--- ---]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 183. *90*
Ἐπικράτης Ἀναγυράσιος. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 41. *52*
Ἐπικράτης Ἀνδροκλέους Εὐωνυμεύς. Councillor of Erechtheis, 256/5. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 46, No. 9, 33; for date, *SEG* 21, 378. *54*
Ἐπικράτ[η]ς Ἀριστοκράτου Ποτάμιος Ὑπενέρθεν. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 9. *58*
[Ἐπικρ]άτης Ἀρκέσαντος. Of Oineis, victor in Theseia, 157/6. *IG* II² 957, 55. *45*
Ἐπικράτης Εὐκράτους Δαιδαλίδης. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 19. *5*
Ἐπικράτης Εὐωνυμεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 27. *51*
Ἐπικράτης Ἰσοκράτους Εὐωνυμεύς. Seller of a reopened mine, *paullo post* 348/7. *IG* II² 1582, 123. *54*
Ἐπικράτης Πεισιάνακτος. One of a group to provide a lectisternium for Pluto, 330-320 B.C. *IG* II² 1933, 5. *29. 30*
[Ἐπι]κράτης Πε[ισιάνακτος Σουνιεύ]ς. Lochagos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 18. *27*
Ἐπικράτης Σπο[υ]δίου Κήττιος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 41. *59*
Ἐπικράτης Φιλοδήμου Παιανιεύς. Brother of Φίλων Φ. Π., relative of Aischines, Aisch. 2, 150. 152. *94*
Ἐπικράτης Φιλοκράτους. In a catalogue of Kekropis, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 2385, 52. *8*

Ἐπικράτης Φυλάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 18. *42*
[Ἐπ]ιτέλης [Δι]ονυσίου [Εὐ]ωνυμεύς. Gravestone, *med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 6167. *97*
Ἐπιχάρης Ἐπιγένους Οἰναῖος. Sophronistes of Aiantis, 333/2. No. 6, 6. *17*
Ἐπιχάρης Οἰναῖος. Diaitetes, 325/4, *IG* II^2 1926, 144. *18*
Ἐπιχάρης Πλατῶνος Οἰναῖος. On gravestone, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 6972. *18*
Ἕρμιππος Πυθέου Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No 15, Col. I 11. *58*
[- - -]εσίδη[ς - - -]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. III 4. *27*
Ἑστιαῖος Θημακεύς. Hieropoios, 152/1. *IG* II^2 1938, 61. *98*
[. . . . . .^{11}. . . . . .] Ἑστιαί[ου Θημακεύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 116. *90*
Ἐτεοκλῆς [. . . . .^{24}. . . . .]. Lochagos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, 16-17. *22*
[. . .^{5}. .]ετος Ἐπιτ[έλους Εὐ]ωνυμε[ύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 93. *90*
Εὐαίων Πειθῶ[ν]ος. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 38. *27*
Εὐάνγελος Θεανγέλου Χολλείδης. In Attic Manumission Lists, ca. 330-320 B.C. *Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 221, Face B Col. I 8 = *IG* II^2 1556, 33. *32*
[Ε]ὔανδρος [Ε]ὐάν[δρ]ου Ποτάμιος Δειραδιώτης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 21. *59*
Εὔβουλος. Archon, 274/3. *101*
Εὔβουλος Θριάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 31. *43*
Εὔβουλος Θριάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 33. *43*
[Εὔ]βουλος Κηφισο[κλέους] Κικυννεύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 132. *91*
Εὐγνώμων Θεοδώρου. Ephebos of Leontis, 254/5. *IG* II^2 2245, 143. *65*
Εὐθ[- - -] Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4, No. 17, 63. *88*
Εὔθοινος Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 42. *42*
Εὐθυκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 62. *43*
Εὐθυκλῆς Ἀρχίππου Ἀχαρνεύς. On a funerary loutrophoros, *med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 5798. *47*
Εὐθυκράτης Χαρίου Κυδαθηναιεύς. Syntrierarch, 325/4 and 323/2. *IG* II^2 1629 a, 49. 96; 1631 d, 644. *24*
Εὐθύμαχος Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 49. *42*
Εὐκαδ[μίδης - - -]. Ephebos of Kekropis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?). No. 16, 20. *83*
Εὐκαδμίδης Κολλυτεύς. Proposer of a decree, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 1195, 6. *85*
Εὐκλῆς [. . . . .^{24}. . . . .]. Lochagos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, 14-15. *21*
Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείδου Αἰξωνεύς. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 13. *5*
Εὐκολίνη Ἀριστογείτονος Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ, Δικαιογένους γυνή. Wife of general Dikaiogenes on gravestone, *fin. s. IV a. IG* II^2 6569. *67*
Εὐκταῖος Νικίου Ξυπεταιών. In catalogue of hippeis, ca. 320/19. *IG* II^2 1955, 20. *8*
[Εὐ]κτήμ[ων Εὐκ]τήμονο[ς Εὐω]νυμε[ύς]. On gravestone, *s. IV a. IG* II^2 6168. *98*
Εὐκτίμενος Εὐκτιμένου Εὐπυρίδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. III 11. *58*
Εὔνομος Ἀδειμάντου Τρικορύνθιος. On a gravestone, ca. 430/29. *IG* II^2 7551. *95*
Εὐξένιππος. Archon, 305/4. No. 1. *86. 102. 121*
Εὔξενος Ἀρχίππου Εὐωνυμεύς. Epimeletes of a procession, 186/5. *IG* II^2 896, 44. *98*

[Εὔ]ξενος Κήττιος. Prytanis of Leontis, 222/1. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 82, No. 36, 95 *IG* II² 848 b. for date, Pritchett-Meritt, *Chron.* p. xxiv. *63*
Εὔξενος Λυσιστράτου Κήττιος. On gravestone, *s. II a. IG* II² 6388. *63*
[......¹³....... Εὐ]ξένου [Εἰρεσίδη]ς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 122. *90*
Εὐπόλεμος Πτελεάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 36. *43*
Εὔπολις Καλλιάδου Φρεάρριος. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 6; Col. I 12. *58*
Εὐριππίδης. Proposer of a decree, 402/1-400/399. *IG* II² 145, 3; cf. *BSA* 49, 1954, 37 f. *95*
Εὐριππίδης Ἀδειμάντου Μυρρινούσιος. Victorious choregos, ca. 366/5. *IG* II² 1138, Col. I 25-27; *BSA* 50, 1955, 18-24; *IG* II² 2812. *95*
Εὐτελίδης Μενεστρά[του]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 36. *27*
Εὐφρόνιος, Proposer of a decree. No. 2, 52. *6*
Ἐχέμυθος Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 55. *43*
[...⁵..]έων Ἀν[---Ἀγ]ρυλῆθεν. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 91. *89*
Ἡγέμαχος Χαιρήμονος Περιθοιδής. Proposer of a decree, 334/3. No. 2, 36. *6*
Ἡγέστρατος Κλείππου Σουνιεύς. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 1; Col. II 24. *59*
Ἡγε[.......¹⁵.......]τωνος Κυ[δ]α[θ]ην[αι]εύς. Lochagos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, 4-5. *34*
Ἡγησίας. Archon, 324/3. *51. 58*
Ἡγησίας Ἀνθίππου Ἐρχιεύς. Gravestone, *med. s. IV a, IG* II² 6112. *85*
Ἡγησίας Ἡγεσίππου Ἐρχιεύς. *s. IV a. IG* II² 3843, 1-3. *85*
Ἡγησίας Νικοξένου Ἐρχιεύς. Attic manumission lists, ca. 330-20 B.C. *Hesp.* 28, 1959, 228, line 105. *85*
[Ἡ]γησ[ι]κλῆς Φιλέου Κυδαθηναιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. III 16. *35*
[---] Ἡγησιφάνους. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 6. *5*
Ἡγήτωρ Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 61. *43*
Ἡγίας Ἡγίου Ὑβάδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 23. *59*
Ἡδυλίνη Νικοδήμου θυγάτηρ Ξυπεταιόνος. On a gravestone, *s. IV a. IG* II² 6930. *8*
Ἡ[......¹²......]ικ[--- Πόριος. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 58. *88*
[---ή]μονος [Ἁμαξαντε]ύς. Ephebos of Hippothontis, 305/4. No. 17, 74. *89*
[.....¹¹.....] Ἡνιόχου. In casualty list. *Hesp.* 7, 1938, p. 82, No. 10; additional name added, *Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 163, No. 340. *96*
[.....¹¹.....] Ἡνιόχου [Κοθωκίδ]ης. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 55. *88*
[Ἡριδ]ανόδωρος. Wilamowitz' restoration in No. 2, Col. II 8. *5*
[...⁵..]ης Δ[---]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 88. *89*
[...⁷....]ης [...⁵..]έους [Ἀνα]γυράσιος. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 108. *90*
[...⁶...]ης [--- Κ]εφαλῆθεν. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 140. *91*
[...]ητ[-----] Ἀγρυλῆθεν. Ephebos of Erechtheis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?) No. 16, 3. *83*
Θάλλιππος. On a gravestone, 365-40 B.C. *IG* II² 12936. *64*
Θάλλιππος Εὐαγγέλλου Σουνιεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 32. *59*
Θαρρέας Σατύρου Λευκονεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 39. *59*

Θαρσύνων Σατύρο[υ] Λευκονεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 35. *27*
Θεάγ[γελος ...]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 38. *27*
Θεάγγελος Χολλείδης. Prytanis of Leontis, 336/5. *SEG* 19, 149. *32*
Θεαῖος Βουτάδης. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 9. *42*
Θεογένης Αντιγένους Φηγαιεύς. Ephebos of Aigeis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?) No. 16, 7. *83*
Θεοδ[--- ---]. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 65. *88*
Θεόδοτος Αἰξωνεύς. Epimeletes of the dockyards, 367/6. *IG* II² 1622 d, 502. *8*
Θεόδοτος Αἴσχρονος Αἰξωνεύς. Hieropoios honored with a crown, ca. 325/4. *IG* II² 1199, 10. *8*
Θεόδοτος Αἴσχρονος Δαιδαλίδης. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 18. *5*
Θεόδωρος Ἀμφιμάχου Κολωνῆθεν. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. III 14. *58*
Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Κολωνῆθεν. Ephebos of Leontis, 155/6. *IG* II² 2068, 84. *65*
Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Λευκονο[εύς]. Proposer of a decree, 333/2. No. 9, 1. *25*
Θεόδωρος Κολωνῆθεν. Ephebos of Ptolemais, *paullo ante* 190/1. *IG* II² 2122, 25. *65*
Θεόδωρος Πα[ραμόνου?]. Ephebos of Leontis, *post med. s. II p. IG* II² 2084, 13. *65*
Θεόκτιστος Φιλέου. Ephebos of Pandionis, ca. 210/11. *IG* II² 2235, 95. *38*
Θεόμνηστος Δεισιθέου Ἰωνίδης. In poletai records, 367/6. *Hesp.* 10, 1941, 14-16, No. 1, 8-9. 20. *101*
[Θε]όμν[ηστος ---] Ἰ[ω]ν[ίδης]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 159. *90*
Θεόπομπος Λακιάδης. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 29. *43*
[...θ]εος Ἀριστοκ[λέους Κ]εφαλῆθεν. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 137. *91*
Θεόσεβος Θεοφίλου Ξυπεταιών. Involved in a dispute over property, 367/6. *Hesp.* 10, 1941, 14-7, No. 1, 9-10. 24-25. *96*
Θεότιμος Αἰξωνεύς. Epimeletes of Sacred Treasury in Delos. *IG* II² 2336 a, 39; *HSCP* 51, 1940, p. 117, line 33. *8*
Θεότιμος Θεοπόμπου Αἰξωνεύς. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 15. *5*
Θεοφάνης Διοσκουρίδου Εὐωνυμεύ[ς]. Agonothetes, 277/6. *IG* II² 3851, 2. *98*
[Θε]οφάνης Ἱεροφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος. Dedicant, 333/2. No. 10, 1. *39*
Θεόφιλος Ἀ<να>γυράσιος. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 44. *52*
[Θε]όφιλος Ἀρίστωνος. In a catalogue of Pandionis, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II² 2370, 3. *24*
Θεόφιλος Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 46. *42*
Θεόφιλος Ἀχαρνεύς. Athenian soldier in Euboea (?), 321/0. IG XI 9, 1942, 20. *44*
Θεόφιλος Ἐ[χεσ]τρ[α]το Ἀχαρνεύς. Prytanis of Oineis, 290-280 B.C. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 36, No. 3, 7. *46*
Θεόφιλος Ἐφιάμενος Ἀχαρνεύς. 332-268 B.C. *BCH* 15, 1891, 407, Col. II 6. *46*
Θεόφιλος Θεοδότου Ἀχαρνεύς. Secretary of the prytaneis, 284/3. *Hesp.* 7, 1938, 100, No. 10, 3-4. *46*
Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου Ἀναγυράσιος. Ephebos of Erechtheis, ca. 110/11. *IG* II² 2019, 14. *55*
Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου Ἀναγυράσιος. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 197/8-199/200. *IG* II² 2128, 6. *55*

Θεόφιλος Καλλιμάχου 'Αχαρνεύς. Epistates of temple in Eleusis, 336-333 B.C. *IG* II^2 1544, 3. *46*
Θεόφιλος 'Ολυμπιοδώρου 'Αχαρνεύς. On a gravestone, *s. IV/III a. IG* II^2 5806. *46*
Θηραμένης Κηφισιεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 42. *52*
[.... Θ]ηριππίδου Σφήττιος. Sophronistes of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 17, 120. *87. 90*
[---] Θηριππίδου [...]. Contributor to Asklepios, 247/6. *IG* II^2 1534, 237. *98*
Θι[--- ---]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 182. *90*
[--- --- Θ]ορίκιος. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 15. *56*
[--- ---]ς Θορίκιος. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 13. *56*
[....... Θορίκ]ιον. Unidentified person. 361/0. No. 1, 12. *2*
Θρα[------]. Ephebos of Kekropis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?). No. 16, 17. *83*
Θρασυκλῆς Θράσωνος Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 16. *59*
Θρασυμήδη[ς] Κηδείδους Λευκονεύς. In Attic Manumission Lists, ca. 330-320 B.C. *IG* II^2 1554, 38. *30*
[---] Θρασυμήδος Λευκονεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 34. *27*
Θυμοχάρης. Lessee of mining property, *s. IV a. Hesp.* 19, 1950, 235, line 301. *66*
Θυμοχάρης. In *ratio centesimarum* records, *fin. s. IV a. IG* II^2 1601, 30. *66*
Θυμοχάρης Δημοχάρου Λευκονεύς. Sophronistes of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Left Side, 4-6. *59*
Θεοχάρης Χαιρ[εφῶντος] Λευκονεύς. Prytanis of Leontis, *med. s. III a. Hesp.* 9, 1940, 113, No.22, 32 = *IG* II^2 2434, 25. *64*
[..]ια[---] Κυδαθηναιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. III 17. *34*
[--- ---]ίδου. Ephebos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, Col. II 3. *21*
[........^{17}.........]ίδου [....^{8}....]ς. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 111. *90*
'Ιεροκλῆς Φεί[δ]ωνος Πήληξ. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 33. *59*
'Ιεροκλῆς Φείδωνος Πήληξ. Prytanis of Leontis, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 1742, 77-78. *62*
'Ιέρων 'Ιερωνύμου. On a gravestone, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 11709. *97*
'Ιέρων 'Ιερωνύμου Μελιτεύς. Honorary inscription, 400-350 B.C. *IG* II^2 3826. *97*
'Ιέρων Λαμπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 24. *51*
'Ιερώνυμος Πόριος. One of three men to erect a statue to general Aristophanes, 236/5. *IG* II^2 1299, 90. *97*
[.....^{10}..... 'Ιε]ρωνύ[μου Πόριος. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 57. *88*
'Ιερώνυμος Πόρι[ος]. Ephebos of Demetrias, *init. s. III a. Hesp.* 9, 1940, 79, No. 12, 8. *97*
[...^{5}..]ιο[---]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 150. *89*
[...^{5}..]ιος Διοσκουρίδο[υ Εὐ]ωνυμε[ύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 99. *90*
'Ιπποθέρσης. Dedicant to Asklepios, *med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 4380. *46*
'Ιπποθέρσης 'Αχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 44. *42*
'Ιπποθέρσης 'Αχαρνεύς. Athenian soldier in Euboea (?), 321/0. *IG* XII 9, 1242, 19. *44*
['Ι]π[πος Λυ]σανίου Δειραδιώτη[ς]. On a gravestone, *med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 5970; restoration of name on basis of *IG* II^2 2816 in *SEG* 13, 87. *61*

Ἴσαρχος Φίλωνος Ξυπεταιών. Mentioned in a dispute over property, 367/6. *Hesp.* 10, 1941, 14-17, No. 1, 9-10. 24-25. *96*

Ἰσίδωρος Θεοφίλου Ἀναγυράσιος. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 154/5. *IG* II² 2067, 26. *55*

Ἰσόδημος Ἰσιφίλ[ου]. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. III 13. *35*

[Ἰσ]όδ[ημ]ος Ἰσοδήμου [Κυαδαθηναιεύς]. Prytanis of Pandionis, *post med.* *IG* II² 1751, 51. *38*

Ἴων. Possible restoration in No. 16, 17; occurrences of the name. *91*. *92*

[Κάλ]λαισ[χρ]ος Καλλίου. Didaskalos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10 7. *34*. *38*

Καλλέας. Casualty of Erechtheis. 460/59. *IG* I² 929, 144. *55*

Καλλέας Καλλίππου Λαμπτρεύς. Epistates of temple in Eleusis, 333/2. *IG* II² 1544, 6-7. litigant in case, 369/8, Dem. 52. *55*

Καλλιάδης Φρεάρριος. Prytanis of Leontis, *ante med. s. IV a.* *IG* II² 1744, 9. *61*

Καλλίας Εὐωνυμεύς. Gravestone, *ante med. s. IV a.* Hesp. 23, 1954, 262, No. 64. *84*

Καλλίας Εὐωνυμεύς. Hellenotamias, 410/9. *IG* I² 304 A 26. *85*

Καλλίος Εὐωνυμεύς. Cleruch on Samos, 361/0. *AJP* 61, 1940, 195. *85*

Καλλίας Καλλαίσχρο Παιανιεύς. On a gravestone, *init. s. IV a.* *IG* II² 7061. *38*

[Κ]αλλίας Καλλιάδους. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, 9. *5*

Καλλίας Καλλιάδου Παιανιεύς. In Attic Manumission Lists, 330-320 B.C. *Hesp.* 28, 1959, p. 215, Face A Col. III 253-54. *38*

Καλλίας Καλλίου Εὐωνυμεύς. Dedicant to Asklepios, *post med. s. IV a.* *IG* II² 4442, 9-11. *85*

Καλλίας Καλλιστράτου Εὐωνυμεύς. Prytanis of Erechtheis, 256/5. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 46, No. 9, 38. *98*

[Καλλία]ς Καλλιστράτου [Εὐ]ωνυμε[ύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 100. *90*

Καλλίας Κυδαθηναιεύς. 329/8. *IG* II² 1672, 164. *85*

[Καλλί]ας (?) Λυκόφρονος Κυδαθηναιεύς. Thesmothete, *ante med. s. IV a.* *IG* II² 1148, 2-6. *83*

Καλλίας Παιανιεύς. Prytanis of Pandionis, 209/10. *IG* II² 1077, Col. II 38. *38*

Καλλίας Φιλονίκου Κυδαθηναιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?) No. 16, 12. *83*

Καλλικράτης Αἰξωνεύς. Proposer of a decree, 334/3. No. 2, 26. *6*

Καλλικράτης Γλαύκωνος Αἰξωνεύς. Honored by fellow-demesmen, 313/2. *IG* II² 1200, 5. *9*

Καλλικράτης Καλλικράτους Παιανιεύς. Proposer of a decree, 303/2. No. 18, 1. *119*

[Καλ]λίμαχος Καλλ[- - -] Θορίκιος. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 134. *91*

Καλλικράτης Καλλισθένου Ἐρχιεύς. On a gravestone, *post med. s. IV a.* *IG* II² 6121; cf. 6122, 6123. *101*

[Καλ]λῖν[ο]ς. Casualty of Leontis, 409/8; corrected to [Φι]λῖν[ο]ς *Hesp.* 7, 1938, 89, No. 10, 240. *31*

Κάλλιππος Ἱπποθέρσου Ἀχαρνεύς. Epimeletes of a procession, 282/1. *IG* II² 668, 29. *46*

Κάλλιπ<π>ος Λαμπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 47. *52*

[Κ]αλλισθέν[ης - - -]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 151. *89*

Καλλισθένης Καλλίου. In catalogue of names, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 2388, 10. *101*
Καλλισθένης Φανομάχου Ἀραφήνιος. Prytanis of Aigeis, 256/5. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 47, No. 10; *IG* II² 678, Col. III 36. *101*
Καλλίστρατος. Casualty of Leontis, 403/2. Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 27. *64. 65*
Καλλίστρατος. Member of genos of Amynandridai from Leontis, 27/6-18/7. *IG* II² 2338 b, 29. *64*
Καλλίστρατος. Ephebos of Leontis, 190/1-191/2. *IG* II² 2113, 88. *64*
Καλλίστρατος Καλλ[- - -]. Councillor of Erechtheis, 304/3. *Hesp.* 35, 1966, p. 226, Col. III line 134. *98*
Καλλίστρατος Σωτέλου Λευκονεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 41. *59. 65*
Καλλιφῶν. Casualty of Oineis, ca. 424/3. *IG* I² 949, 8. *45*
Καλλιφῶν Ὀῆθεν. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 25. *43*
Καλλιφῶν Ὀῆθεν. On a gravestone. *IG* II² 6967; restored, *SEG* 13, 112. *45*
Καλλιχάρης Καλλιφάνους Σουνιεύς. Lochagos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, 25; Col. II 19. *27*
Κεδείδης. Produced a play, *fin. s. V a. IG* I² 770. *30*
[- - - - - - Κ]εφαλῆθεν. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 10. *56*
Κηδείδης. On a black-figured plaque, ca. 500 B.C. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1953-54, Part I p. 204, No. 8. *30*
Κηδείδης [- - -] Λευκονεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 33. *27*
Κηφισογένης Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 51. *42*
Κηφίσιος Διοφάντου [Κερα]μεύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 129. *90*
Κηφίσιππος. Akontistes of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Right Side, 5-6. *43*
Κηφίσιππος Γαργήττιος. Prytanis of Antigonis, 210/9-201/0. *IG* II² 912, 22 = *Hesp.*. Suppl. 1, 88-89, No. 39. *49*
Κηφισογένης Ἀχαρνεύς. Lochagos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 70 *43*
Κηφισογένης Κηφίσιεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas of 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 51. *52*
[- - -] Κηφισογένου Ἀχαρνεύς. Proposer of a decree, 306/5. *Hesp.* 3, 1934, 5, No. 6, 9. *47*
Κηφισοφῶν Λυσιφῶντος Χολαργεύς. Archon, 329/8; one of ten epimeletai of a festival at the Amphiaraion. *IG* VII Adendda, 4254, 32. *51. 71*
Κίμων Περγασῆθεν. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 20. *51*
Κίμων Κίμωνος Περγασῆθεν. *Post med. s. IV a. IG* II² 2401, 5. *53*
Κλεαίνε[τος . . .⁵. .]δρου Κυδαθ[η]ναιεύς. Lochagos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, 3. *34*
Κλεαίνετος. Plut. *Demetrius* 23, 3. *38*
Κλεινίας Φίλωνος Ξυπεταιών. Diaitetes of Kekropis, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II² 1927, 17-18. *96*
[. .⁵. . .]κλῆς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἀχαρνεύς. In Attic Manumission Lists, 330-320 B.C. *Hesp.* 28, 1959, Face B Col. III 272 = *IG* II² 1559, 98. *46*
Κόνων Τιμοθέου Ἀναφλύστιος. Strategos at the Piraeus 334/3, No. 4, 4; 334/3 or 333/2, No. 7, 3-6; 333/2, No. 8, 10; No. 9, Col. II 9-10. *13. 14. 16. 20. 21. 26. 78*
Κοροῖβος. Archon, 306/5. *101. 102. 121*
[- - - - - -]κου Θορίκιος. Taxiarch of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 4. *56*
[- - - - - - κ]ράτους. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. I 17. *5*
[- - - - - - κρ]άτους Θορίκιος. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 9. *56*

Κρίνιον Ἀμύντου Χολλείδου θυγάτηρ. On a gravestone, *s. II a. IG* II² 7801. *62*
Κτεσίας Φιλοδήμου Λαμπτρεύς. Councillor of Erechtheis, 256/5. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 44, No. 9, 25; for date, *SEG* 21, 378. *55*
Κτησίας Λακιάδης. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 28. *43*
Κτησικλῆς. Archon, 334/3. No. 2, 27. 50. 53; No. 4, 1; No. 3, 2. *6. 13. 14. 16. 20*
Λ[------]. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 68. *89*
Λακρ[--- ---]. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. II 18. *35*
[Λ]άμαχος Κηφισοκ[λέους] Κικυννεύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 131. *91*
Λάμαχος Κηφισοκλέους Κικυννεύς. On a gravestone, *s. IV a. IG* II² 6477 as reconstructed *Ath. Mitt.* 67, 1942, 225, No. 33. *100*
Λεπτίνης Φυλάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 15. *42*
Λέων Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 47; Cf. Robert, *Épigr. et philol.* p. 294. *42*
Λέων Ἀχαρνεύς. Paus. 1, 37, 1. *46*
Λεωσθένης Λεωσθένους Κεφαλῆθεν. Strategos of the countryside, 324/3. No 15, Left Side, 1-6; contributor to outfitting naval vessels, 324/3. *IG* II² 1631 d, 500; through his heirs, 323/2. *IG* II²1631, 601-02. 606. *59. 65. 69-70. 72. 78*
Λεώστρατος, Archon 303/2. No. 19, 8. *119*
Λεωχά[------]. Ephebos of Kekropis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?). No. 16, 19. *83*
Λε[ωχ]άρης Λε[ωκ]ράτ[ου]ς Παλληνεύς. In construction accounts, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II² 1669, 3. *30*
Ληγ[--- ---]. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. II 14. *35*
Λεωχίδης Εὐωνυμεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 53. *52*
[---]λιο[..]λη[...]ς Πρασιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. I 12. *34*
Λύκαιος Λυκαίου Ὑβάδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 21. *59*
Λυκομήδης Σμικύθου Τειθράσιος. Ephebos of Aigeis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?). No. 16, 9. *83*
Λυκοῦργος Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδκς. One of ten epimeletai of festival at Amphiaraion, 329/8 (?). *IG* VII *Addenda*, 4254, 23. *71*
[Λυ]κόφρων Λυκίνου Πρασιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?) No. 16, 13. *83*
Λυσανίας Μολωνος Δειραδιώτης. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 4; Col. II 35. *59*
Λυσίθεος Ἀρχε[στάτρου] (?) Εὐωνυμεύς. Councillor of Erechtheis, 328/7. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1917, 41, No. 92, Side B 10. *97*
[Λυσίθ]εος Λυσιμένο[υς Εὐωνυμεύς. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 179 97. *90*
Λυσικράτης Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 60. *43*
[Λ]υσικράτ[η]ς Λυσιστ[ράτου Μελιτεύς]. Proposer of a decree, ca. 302/1. *IG* II² 506, *8.*
Λυσικράτη[ς] Λυ[σιστράτ]ου Μελ[ιτεύς]. Honored with a crown, 304/3. *IG* II² 488, 6. *8*
[---] Λυσίου. Ephebos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, Col. II 5. *21*
Λυσίστρατος Ε[ὐ]χένου Κήττιος. Taxiarch of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 36; Left Side, 11-13. *59. 60. 66*
Λυσίστρατος Μελ[ιτεύς]. In a catalogue of magistrates, post 350/49. *IG* II² 1702, 11. *8*
Λυσίστρατος Μελιτεύς. On a juryman's ballot, ca. 334/3. *IG* II² 1851. *8*

Λυσίστρατος Φυλά[σιος. In a catalogue of magistrates, *post* 350/49. *IG* II² 1702, 10. *8*
Λυσίστρατος Λυσικρ[ά]τους Χολλείδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 26. *59*
Λυσιφῶν Φιλί[σ]κου Ἐκαλῆθεν. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 31. *59*
Μ[--- ---]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 85. *89*
Μαλθάκη Μόσχου θυγάτηρ [Λεωσ]θένου γυνή. Wife of Leosthenes, the general (?), *post med. s. IV a. IG* II² 1529, Col. I 12; 1524 B Col. II 203; 1523, Col. II 29. *66*
Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κάλλιππος Λαμπτρεύς. Kosmetes, 239/40. *IG* II² 2239, 1; 3766, 2-3. *55*
[....μ]αχο[ς ---]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 89. *89*
[....μα]χος Γλαυκέτου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, 7. *5*
[...⁸... Μ]εγα[κλέου]ς ['Ανα]γυράσιος. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 106. *90*
[Μ]εγακλῆς Εὐ[---]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 154. *89*
Μεγακλῆς Εὐαινέτου (?) Γαργήττιος. Prytanis of Aigeis, ca. 350/49. *IG* II² 1747, 36. *101*
Μαιδωνίδης Περικλέους Σουνιεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 30. *59*
Μελάνθιος ['Α]ριστείδου Αἰξωνεύς. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, 14. *5*
Μενέξενος Δικαιογένου Κυδαθηναιεύς. On gravestone, *fin. s. IV a.* son of general Dikaiogenes? father of general? *IG* II² 6569. *67*
Μενεστρατίδης Ἱπποστράτου Ὑβάδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 20. *59*
Μενέστρατος Δημητρίου. Ephebos of Pandionis, 117/6. *IG* II² 1009, 92. *38*
Μνεσικράτης Λυσικράτους. Councillor of Oineis, 335/4. *IG* II² 1700, 135-36. *47*
Μνησίας Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 57. *43*
[---] Μνησιθέου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, 5. *5*
Μνησικλῆς Κοθωκίδης. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 69. *43*
[Μν]ῆσος Ἀρίστω[νος ---]. Didaskalos (?) of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, 11. *21*
Μνῆσος Μνησιφίλου. In a catalogue of phrateres, *init. s. IV a. IG* II² 2344, 9. *24*
[--- ---]μοκρίτου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. I 16. *5*
Μόλων. Archon, 362/1. No. 1, 25. *2*
[Μ]όλων [Λυ]σανίου [Δει]ραδιώτης. On a gravestone, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 5970. *61*
[Μνα σ]αγ[ό]ρ[α]ς Ἀδειμάντου Ἰκαριεύς, Among prominent citizens, ca. 125/4. *IG* II² 2452, 32. *94*
[....]μων Ξενο[κ]λ[έους] Ποτάμιος Δειραδιώτης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 20. *59*
[....⁷...]ν Ἐρ[..]αινε[ο] Μεθωναῖος. Didaskalos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, 35-36. *26*
[Ναυκ]ράτ[η]ς Ναυσιστράτου [Κερα]μεύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No, 17, 127. *90*
Ναυκύδης Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 52. *42*
Ναυκύδης Διογένους Ἀχαρνεύς. Taxiarch (?) of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Right Side, 1-2. *43*
Ναῦσίς. Makes a gift of a garment to Artemis, 347/6. *IG* II² 1514, 17; 1515, 9. *62*
Ναῦσις Γνάθωνος Χολλείδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 29 *59*
Ναυσιστράτη Ναυκύδους Ἀχαρνεύς. Representation of a seated woman

extending hand to bearded man on a funerary lekythos, *s. IV a. IG* II^2 5823. *47*
Ναυσίστρατος Ἀρχωνίδους ἐκ Κεραμέων. Ephebos of Akamantis, 80/79. *IG* II^2 1039, Col. II 81 = Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1964, (1966) Col. II 82. *99*
Ναυσίστρατος Ναυκράτους Κεραμεύς. ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, 110/9. *Inscr. de Délos*, 143. *99*
Ναυσίφιλος Κίμωνος Σουνιεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 28. *59*
[. . .^{8}. . .ν]εικος Στράτωνος. Ephebos of Leontis, ca. 239/40. *IG* II^2 2239, 124. 130. *65*
[. . .^{5}. .]νεὺς Καλλιστράτου. Ephebos of Leontis, 172/3. *IG* II^2 2102, 33. *64*
Νέων Ὀῆθεν. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 23. *43*
[. . . .^{8}. . . .]νης Διοφᾶν[τος Π]ρασιεύς. Lochagos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?) No. 10, 4. *34*
[. . .^{6}. . .]νίδης Φ[--- Κ]εφαλῆθεν. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 139. *91*
Νικήρατος Νικοδήμου.Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 37. *27*
Νικήσιος Σωσιστράτου Σουνιεύς. Member of college of ten, *med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 2825, 4. *64*
Νικησίων Σωσιστράτου Σουνιεύς. Representative of Leontis in a college of ten men. *IG* II^2 2825, 6. *61*
Νικήτης. Archon, 332/1. No. 11. *39*
[Νικίας] Εὐκταίου. Proxenos of Keos, *post* 356/5. *IG* XII 5, 542, 42. *8*
Νικίας Εὐκταίου Ξυπεταιών. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 21; in a catalogue of hippeis, ca. 320/9. *IG* II^2 1955, 5. *5*
Νικίας Κηφισιεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 39. *52*
Νικίας Νικοδήμου. Victorious choregos, 320/19. *IG* II^2 3055, 1. *8*
[Νικίας Νι]κοδήμου Ξυπεται[ών]. In a *ratio centesimarum* record, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 1598, 5. *8*
Νικο[--- ---]. Ephebos of Kekropis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?). No. 16, 18. *83*
Νικόδωρος Νικησίου. Victorious hippeus of Leontis in Panathenaia, ca. 166/5. *IG* II^2 2316, 37; victor in diaulos, 161/0. *IG* II^2 956, Col. II 85-86. *31*
Νικόδωρος Φιλοθήρου Ἀχαρνεύς. Epimeletes, 324/3. No. 15, Right Side, 8-10. *60*
Νικοκλῆς. Casualty of Leontis, 412/11 (?). *IG* I^2 950, 157. *30*
Νικοκλῆς Δημητρίου Χολλείδης. On a gravestone. *IG* II^2 7804. *30*
Νικοκράτης. Archon, 333/2. No. 6, 2; No. 8, 6; No. 9, 1. 11; No. 11. 17. 19. *20. 21. 22. 25. 39*
Νικομένης. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 6. *42*
[Ν]ικόξενος Ἡγησίου Ἐρχιεύς. Catalogue *paterar. argent.*, ca. 330/29. *IG* II^2 1558. *59. 84*
Νικόξενος Νικοκλέους Χολληίδης. Lochagos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, 26; Col. II 20. *26. 30*
[Ν]ικόξενος Νικοκλέος Χολλήδης. Secretary in the prescript of a decree, 353/2. *IG* II^2 159. *30*
Νικόφημος. Archon, 361/0. No. 1, 9. 13. *1. 2. 4. 70*
Νικόφημος Εὐωνυμεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 49. *52*
[. . . . .^{11}. . . . .]νοκλέου [Χολαργ]εύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 124. *90*
[--- ---]νίππου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 3. *5*
[. . . .^{8}. . . .]νος Φυρομάχου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. I 19. *5*

[....⁹.....]ν Φιλίνου Ποτάμιος Ὑπένερθεν. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 32-33. *27*
Ξαιρεφῶν Καλλιστράτου Λευκονεύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 40. *59*
Ξενοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους Χολαργεύς. Prytanis of Akamantis, ca. 330/29. *IG* II² 2411, 7. *99*
Ξενοκλῆς Χολαργεύς. Diaitetes, ca. 330/29. *IG* II² 1934, 60-61; *BSA* 50, 1955, 27, lines 60-61. *99*
Ξενοκράτης Ἀντιρήτου Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 13. *58*
Ξενοπείθης Ναυσιμάχου Παιανιεύς. Ca. 366/5. *IG* II² 1138, Col. III 20-22; cf. *BSA* 50, 1955, 20-21. *96*
Ξενοπείθης Παιανιεύς. Trierarch, 365/4, father of ephebos 305/4 (?), No. 17, 36. *IG* II² 1609, 117. *96*
[...⁶...] Ξενοπείθο[υ] Παιανιεύς. Ephebos of Antigonis, 305/4. No. 17, 36. *88*
[Ξε]νοστράτη Ἁγίου Εὐωνυμεύς. 108/7. *BSA* 21, 159, line 37. *54*
Ξενοφῶν Λαμπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 26. *51*
Ξενοφῶν Μνησιάδου Ξυπεταιών. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 22. *5*
[..⁵...]ογνήτου [Κ]εφαλῆθεν. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 138. *91*
[--- ----]οδώρου [---]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 29. *27*
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 64. *43*
[Ὀλυμ]πιόδωρος Ἀχαρνεύς. Archon basileus, 229/8. *IG* II² 1706, 2. *48*
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Φανίου Φρεάρριος. On a gravestone, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 7728. *62*
[---]ος Ζωπύρου Πρασιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. I 15. *35*
[---]ος Τιμοφῶντος Ἀναγυρ[άσιος]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, *paullo ante* 307/6 (?) No. 16, 2. *83*
[..]οτ[---] Ἰ[ω]ν[ίδης]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 161. *90*
[---]οτ[........¹⁷.........]του Ἀζ[ηνιεύς]. Sophronistes of Hippothontis, 305/4. No. 17, 18-19. 72. *87. 89*
[...⁵..]ότης Αἰνησίου Κυδαθηναιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. III 15. *35*
[....]οτος Δημητρίου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. I 21. *5*
[--- ---]ου. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 1. *5*
[--- ---]ου. Ephebos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, Col. II 1. *21*
[--- ---]ου Προσπάλτιο[ς]. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3, No. 14, 6. *56*
[......¹²......]ου [Χολαργ]εύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 125. *90*
[--- ---]ους. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 2. *5*
[.........¹⁸.........]ους Μυρρινούσιος. Didaskalos (?) of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, 13. *21*
[--- --- ο]υς Χολαργεύς. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 8. *56*
[.....⁹....]οφίλου [Ἀτηνε]ύς. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No 17, 53. *88*
[--- ---]οφῶντος. Ephebos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, Col. II 4. *21*
Π[--- ---]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 181. *90*
[Παγ]κλῆς Πύρρου Ποτάμιος. On a gravestone, *s. IV a. IG* II² 7269. *63*
Πανδαίτης Πασικλέους. Named in dedication on Akropolis, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 3829, 3-4. *29*

Πανδαίτης Πασικλέος Ποτάμιος. Lochagos of Leontis, 333/2 and proposer of a decree of the lochagoi. No. 9, 23; Col. II 17; III 11. *26. 27*

[..........^{19}......... Παι]ανιεύς. Lochagos of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, 14. *21*

[..........^{19}......... Π]αιανιεύς. Didaskalos (?) of Pandionis, 333/2. No. 8, 12. *21*

Παράμυθος Ἀντιγένου Ποτάμιος Ὑπένερθεν. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 3; Col. II 8. *58*

Παράμυθος Δημοχάρους, Ephebos of Antigonis, 244/3. *Hesp.* 17, 1948, pp. 6. 34; *IG* II^2 766, 24. *95*

Πασιφῶν Παννήνορος. Physician appearing in a trial, 362/1. Dem. 30, 34. *96*

Πασιφῶν Παντήνορος Φρεάρριος. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 1; Col. I 9. *58*

Πασιφῶν Φρεάρριος, Secretary of the Boule, ca. 413/12 (?). SEG 17, 5, 1-2; strategos in Samos, 410/9. *IG* I^2 304 a 35. *61*

[.....^{9}.... Π]ασιφῶντος [Ἀτηνε]ύς. Ephebos of Demetrias, 305/4. No. 17, 52. *88*

Πάταικος Πιθεύς. Tamias of sacred funds, 390/89. *IG* II^2 1400, 4. *8*

Παυσανίας Φιλήμωνος Ἀγρυλῆθεν. Trierarch, 334/3, 325/4. *IG* II^2 1623, 146; 1629, 504. *54*

[--- π]είθης Λαμπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 28. *51*

[Πειθ]όδημος Πείθωνος Χολλείδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 38/7. *IG* II^2 1043, Col. I 96. *32*

[---]πίνου [Ἀνα]και[εύς?]. Ephebos of Hippothontis, 305/4. No. 17, 76. *89*

Πολυκλῆς Ἀριστοκράτου Θορίκιος. On a gravestone, *s. III/II a. IG* II^2 6237. *4*

Πολυκλῆς Πολυκλέους Θορίκιος. On a gravestone, *s. II a. IG* II^2 6238. *4*

Πολυκράτης Εὐωνυμεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 25. *51*

Πολυμήδης Λαμπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 52. *52*

[Π]ολυμήδης Πολυφίλου, Ephebos of Aiantis, 333/2. No. 6, 8. *17*

[........^{16}........] Ποτάμιος Καθυπέρθεν. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 31. *27*

Πρ[--- ---]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 184. *90*

Πρε[σ]βυ[χάρης .....^{9}....]ύς. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 29. *27*

Πρεσβυχάρης Ἀριστώνος Ἁλιμούσιος. Prytanis of Leontis, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 1742, 11-12. *30*

Πρωτίας. Proposer of a decree, 334/3. No.2, 45. *6*

Πρωτομάχος. Strategos. Xen. *Hell.* 1, 5, 16; Diod. 13, 74, 1. *65*

[....^{7}...]π[...^{6}...]του Γαργήττιος. Ephebos of Antigonis, 305/4. No. 17, 40. *88*

Πυθα[...^{6}...]οκλέου Δεκελειεύς. Didaskalos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Left Side, 8-10. *60*

Πυθέας Πυθοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς. Councillor of Oineis, 175/4. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 120, No. 64, 29. *47*

Πυθόδωρ[ος Ἀπ]ολλοδώρου. Ephebos of Aiantis, 333/2. No. 6, 9. *17*

Πυθόδωρος Δημ[ο]κλέους Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 17. *59*

[Πυ]θόδω[ρος ---] Ἰ[ω]ν[ίδης]. Ephebos of Aigeis, 305/4. No. 17, 158. *90*

Πυθοκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 63. *43*

Πυθοκλῆς Ἀχαρνεύς. Trierarch, 328/7, 323/2. *IG* II² 1628 a, 21-22; 1632 *a* 27; d, 635. 670. *44*
Πυθοκλῆς Λαμπτρεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 10. *51*
Πυθοκλῆς [...]γο[γ]έν[ους] Ἀχαρνεύς. Councillor of Oineis, 290-280 B.C. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 36, No. 3, 5. *47*
Πύρρος [Εὐθ]υμάχου Ποτάμιος. Councillor of Leontis, *post med. s. IV a.* *IG* II² 1752, 27 *63*
Πύρρος [Π]ανγκλέους Ποτάμιος Δειραδιώτης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 18. *59*
[---]ροθεο[---]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. III 3. *27*
[.........18.........]ς [....8....]ς. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 113. *90*
Σαν[--- ---]. Casualty of Leontis, ca. 413/12. *Hesp.* 12, 1943, p. 45, Frg. L 54. *30*
Σαννείδης [....7...]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. II 30. *27*
Σάτυρος. Epimeletes of dockyards. Dem. 22, 63. *31*
Σάτυρος. Proposer of a decree, 363/2. *IG* II² 110, 6. *31*
Σάτυρος. Casualty of Leontis, *fin. s. V a. Hesp.* 12, 1943, p. 46, Fgt. L. 40. *31*
Σάτυρος Ἐ[.....9.... Παι]ανιεύς. Lochagos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, 5. *34*
Σάτυρος Λευκονεύς. Secretary of Hellenotamiai, 443/2, 442/1. *IG* I² 202, 36; 203, 2. *31. 64*
Σάτυρος Παιανιεύς. On a gravestone, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 7082. *38*
[---]ς Δημητρίου Πρασιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 332/1 (?). No. 10, Col. I 17. *35*
Σήραμβος Σώσου Δειραδιώτης. On a gravestone, *init. s. II a. IG* II² 5973. *63*
[...5..]σιος Ἀμεινο[--- Εὐ]ωνυμε[ύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305, 4. No. 17, 96. *90*
Σιμωνίδης. Owner of a mining lease, *paullo post* 348/7. *IG* II² 1582 B 162; owner of property at unknown date, *Hesp.* 19, 1950, 236, No. 14, 11. *61*
Σιμωνίδης Τιμησίου Σουνιεύς. Secretary of the Boule, 272/1. *Hesp.* 26, 1957, 54, No. 11, 4. *61*
Σμικρίας Ἐπι[...ο]υ Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 18. *59*
Σμίκυθος Ξενοκλέους Κήττιος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 38. *59*
Σμίκυθος Τειθράσιος. Poletai record, 367/6. *Hesp.* 10, 1941, 16, No. 1, 15. 38. *85*
[--- Σμι]κύθου. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. III 7. *27.63*
[---]ς Νι[---]. Ephebos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. III 5. *27*
Σόλων Ἀγρυλῆθεν. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 9. *51*
Σόλων Ἀθηνοδώρου Ἐρχιεύς. Prytanis of Aigeis, 256/5. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 47, No. 10, 34; *IG* II² 678. Col. I 34. *101*
Στάτι[ος] Φίλων Παιανιεύς. Ephebos of Pandionis, 143/4 or 144/5. *IG* II² 2050, 7; prytanis of Pandionis, 169/70. *IG* II² 1776, 14. *94*
[....7...]ς Στρατοκλέου[ς Ἀνα]γυράσιος. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4, No. 17, 105. *90*
Στράτιος Σωστράτου Φρεάρριος. On a gravestone. *IG* II² 7731. *62*
[....στ]ρατος Εὐκτήμονος [Εὐ]ωνυμε[ύς]. Ephebos of Erechtheis, 305/4. No. 17, 102. *90*

Στράτων Εὐπόρου. Ephebos of Leontis, ca. 239/40. *IG* II² 2239, 124. *65*
Στράτων Μενεσθέως. Ephebos of Leontis, 207/8. *IG* II² 2199, 88. *65*
Στράτων Στρατωνίδου ἐξ Οἴου. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. III 9. *58*
[--- --- Σ]φήττιος. Lochagos of Akamantis, 333/2-324/3. No. 14, 12. *56*
Σώδα[μος] Χολλείδης. Diaitetes of Leontis, 325/4. *IG* II² 1926, 60. *62*
Σωκλῆς Ἀλεξιμάχου Εὐωνυμεύς. Hippeus of Erechtheis, ca. 320/19. *IG* II² 1955, 22. *97*
Σωκράτης Κυδαθηναιεύς. Prytanis of Pandionis, 155/4. *Hesp.* Suppl. 1, 151, No. 84, 99. *38*
Σωκράτης Φυλάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 16. *42*
Σωσίβ[ι]ος Εὐωνυμεύς. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 22. *51*
[Σω]σίβιος Σωσικλέους Σουνιεύς. Prytanis of Leontis, *med. s. III a. IG* II² 2433, 5; cf. *Hesp.* 9, 1940, 113, No. 22, 7. *64*
Σωσιγένης. Hippeus of Leontis in Pythais of 128/7. *F. de D.* III 2, 34, No. 27, I 30. *64*
Σωσιγένης Σωσικράτους. Leontid victor in pankration at Theseia, ca. 158/7. *IG* II² 957, 47-38. *63. 64*
Σωσιγένης Σ̣ώ[σο]ṿ Ποτάμιος Δειραδιώτης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 22. *59*
Σωσικλῆς Σωσιστράτου Σουνιεύς. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 15; Col. II 25. *59*
Σωσίπολις Πτελεάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 37. *59*
Σωσίπολις Σωσίππου. Erected a monument to phratry of the thiasotai, *init. s. IV a. IG* II² 2344, 12. *46*
Σωσίστρατος Σουνιεύς. Honored as phylarch, 286-261 B.C. Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 18, 1963 (1964) I 110, line 24. *61*
Σωσίστρατος Σωσιστράτου. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 2-3; Col. II 26. *59*
[Σώστ]ρ̣α̣τ̣ο̣ς Ἀχαρνεύς. Trierarch, 370/69. *IG* II² 1609, Col. II 78. *46*
Σώστρατος Ἀχαρνεύς. Lochagos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. II 41. 76-77. *42*
Σώστρατος Εὐξιθέου Ἀχαρνεύς. In naval records, *post* 358/7. *IG* II² 1615 c, 97; 616 c, 120. *46*
Σώστρατος Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Φρεάρριος. Prytanis of Leontis, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II² 1744, 6-7. *62*
Σώστρατος Φιλοκήδου Φρεάρριος. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. I 14. *58*
Σωτέλης Ἀλκιμέδωνος Λευκονεύς. Councillor of Leontis, *post* 258/7. *Hesp.* 9, 1940, 113, No. 22, 31 = *IG* II² 2434; cf. *SEG* 19, 179. *65*
Σωφάνης (Διονυσίου) Θ[ημακεύς]. Contributor in 183/2. *IG* II² 2332, Col. II 186-188; proxenos of Oropos, *fin. s. III a. IG* VII 258, 1. 5. *98*
Σώφιλος Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιος. One of ten epimeletai of a festival at the Amphiaraion. *IG* VII *Addenda*, 4254, 25. strategos of the countryside, 334/3 or 333/2. No. 7, 6-7; 334/3, No. 4, 6; 333/2, No. 8, 9; No. 9, Col. II 12. *13. 20. 21. 26. 71*
Ταυρέας Αἰσίμου Σκαμβωνίδης. Ephebos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, Col. II 12 *58*
Τεισαμενὸς Κίρου Πιθεύς. Ephebos of Kekropis, 334/3. No. 2, Col. II 24. *5*
Τεισαμενὸς Παταίκου. In a catalogue of Kekropis, *med. s. IV a. IG* II² 2385, 102. *9*
Τελέας Τελενίκου Περγασῆθεν. Secretary to treasurers of Athena, 416/5. *IG* I²

246, 174; 270, 132-33; 415/4, *IG* I^2 247, 193; 271, 147. Aristoph. *Aves* 168. 1025; *Pax*, 1008. *54*
Τελένικος. Seer of Erechtheis on Egyptian Expedition, 460/59. Thuc. 1, 104, 1-2. *54*
Τελένικος. In casualty list. *IG* I^2 929, 128-29. *54*
Τελένικος Περγασῆθεν. Erechtheid victor in the lampas, 329/8 or 324/3. No. 13, 32. *52*
Τελένικος Τελ[---] Περγασῆθεν. In list of names, *post med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 2401, 6. *53*
Τελεσίβουλος Θριάσιος. Ephebos of Oineis, 330/29 (?). No. 12, Col. I 32. *43*
[...^{6}...[της 'Α[....^{7}...]υ Παλληνεύς. Didaskalos of Leontis, 333/2. No. 9, Col. I 34-35. *26*
[Τ]ιμασίθεος. Thiasotes, *ante med. s. IV a. IG* II^2 2345, 30. *100*
Τιμασίθεος Δημαινέτου ἐκ Κεραμέων. Diaitetes, ca. 367/6. *IG* II^2 143, 8 + *Hesp*. 7, 1938, 278, Col. III 2 + IG II^2 2813. *99. 100*
[Τιμασ]ίθεος ἐκ Κεραμέ[ων]. Honored with a crown, 376/5. *IG* II^2 291, 8. *99. 100*
Τιμησίθεος ἐκ Κεραμέ[ων]. Trierarch, 323/2. *IG* II^2 1631 d, 538. *99. 100*
Τιμήσιος Σημωνίδου Σουνιεύς. Lochagos of Leontis, 324/3. No. 15, 5; Col. II 27. *59*
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Τιμόθεος Τιμασιθέου [Κερα]μεύς. Ephebos of Akamantis, 305/4. No. 17, 128. *90*
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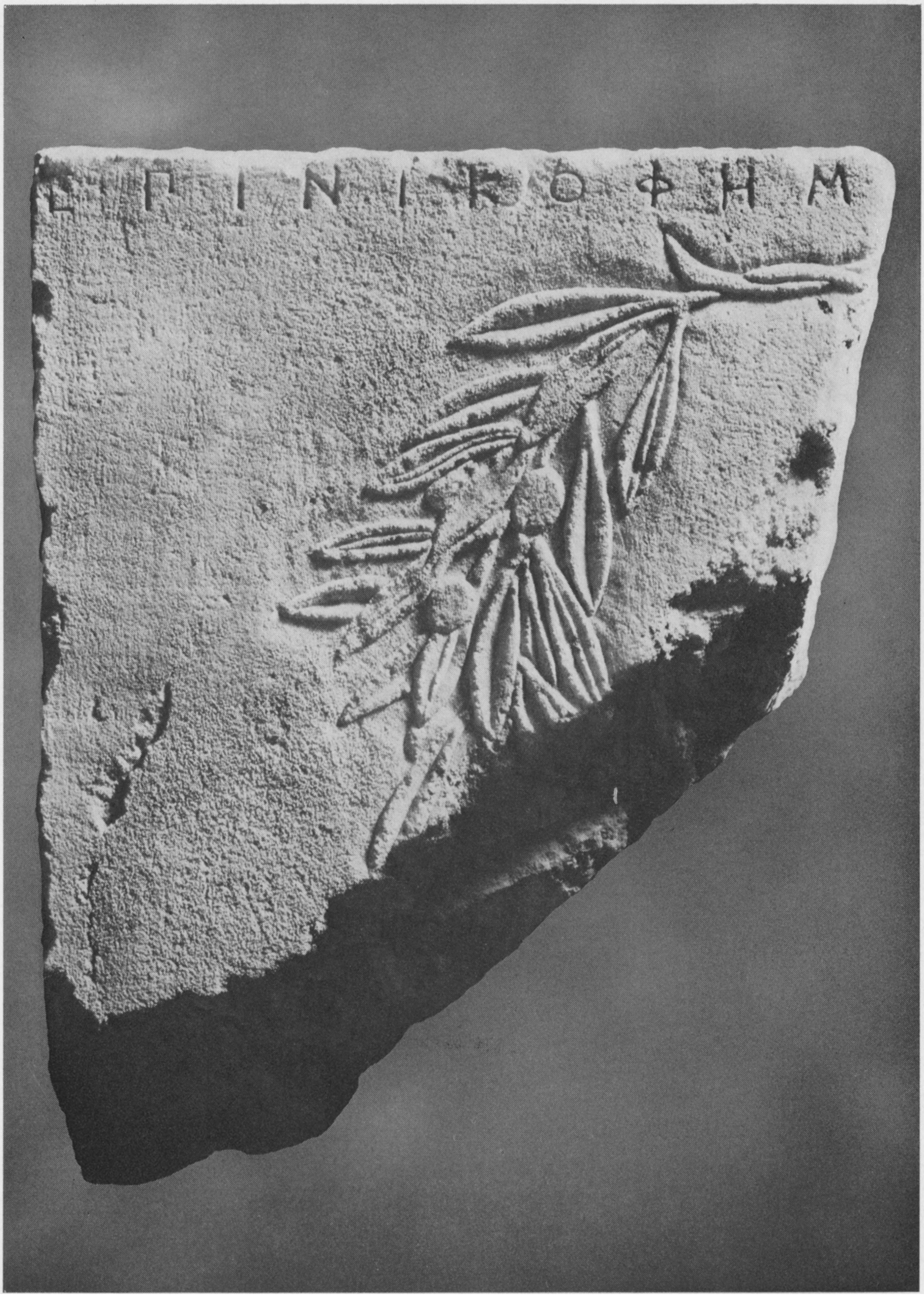
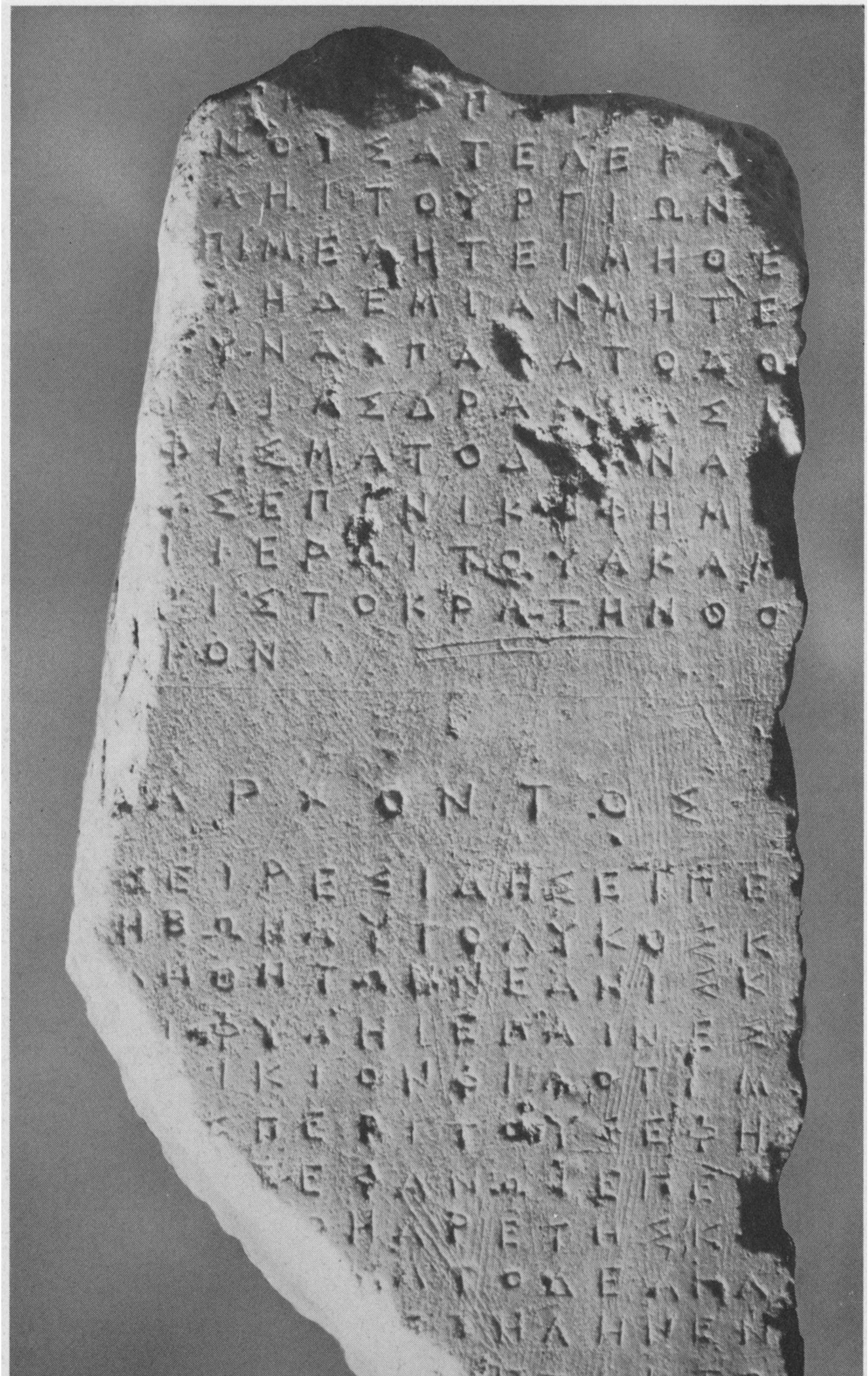
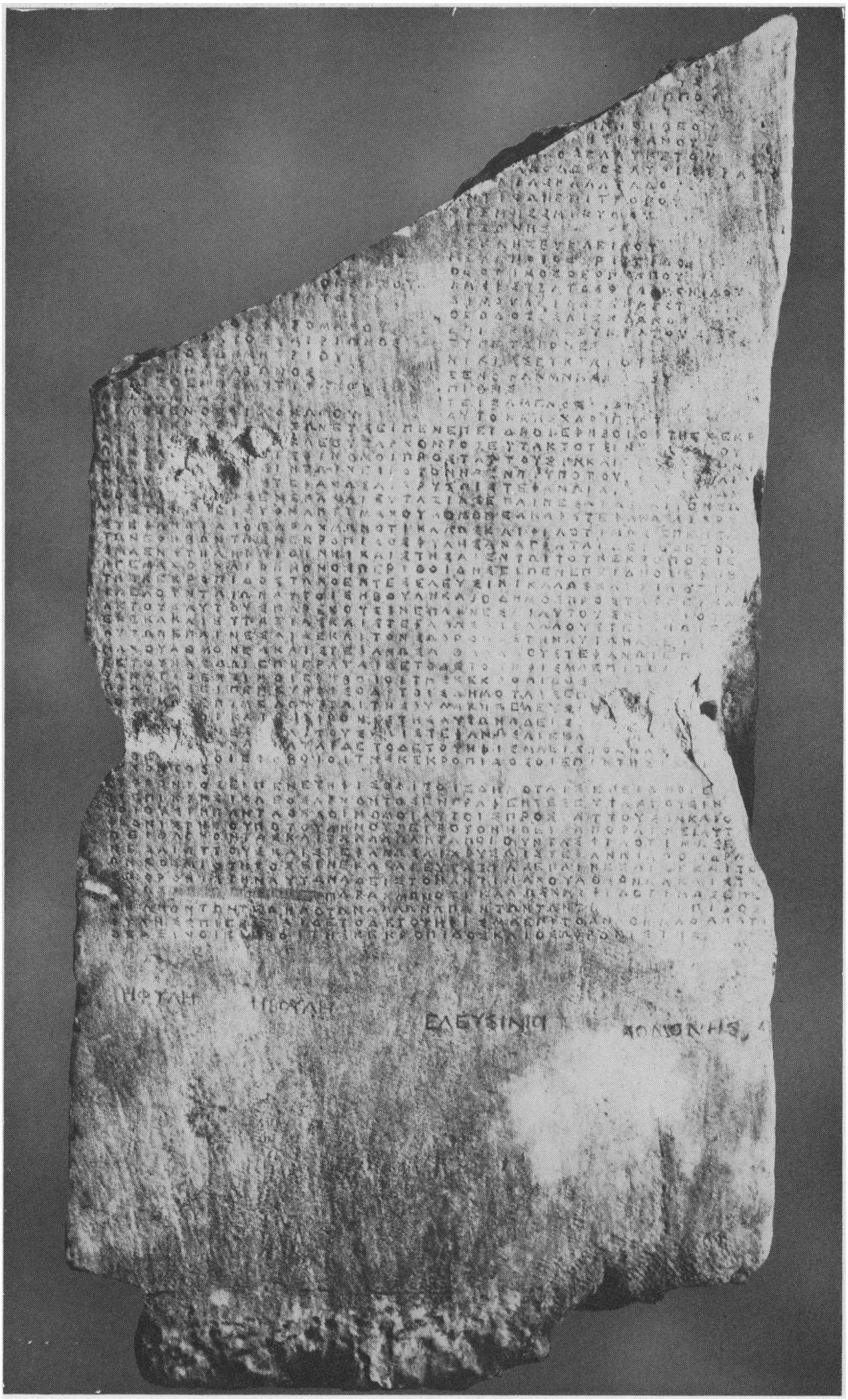


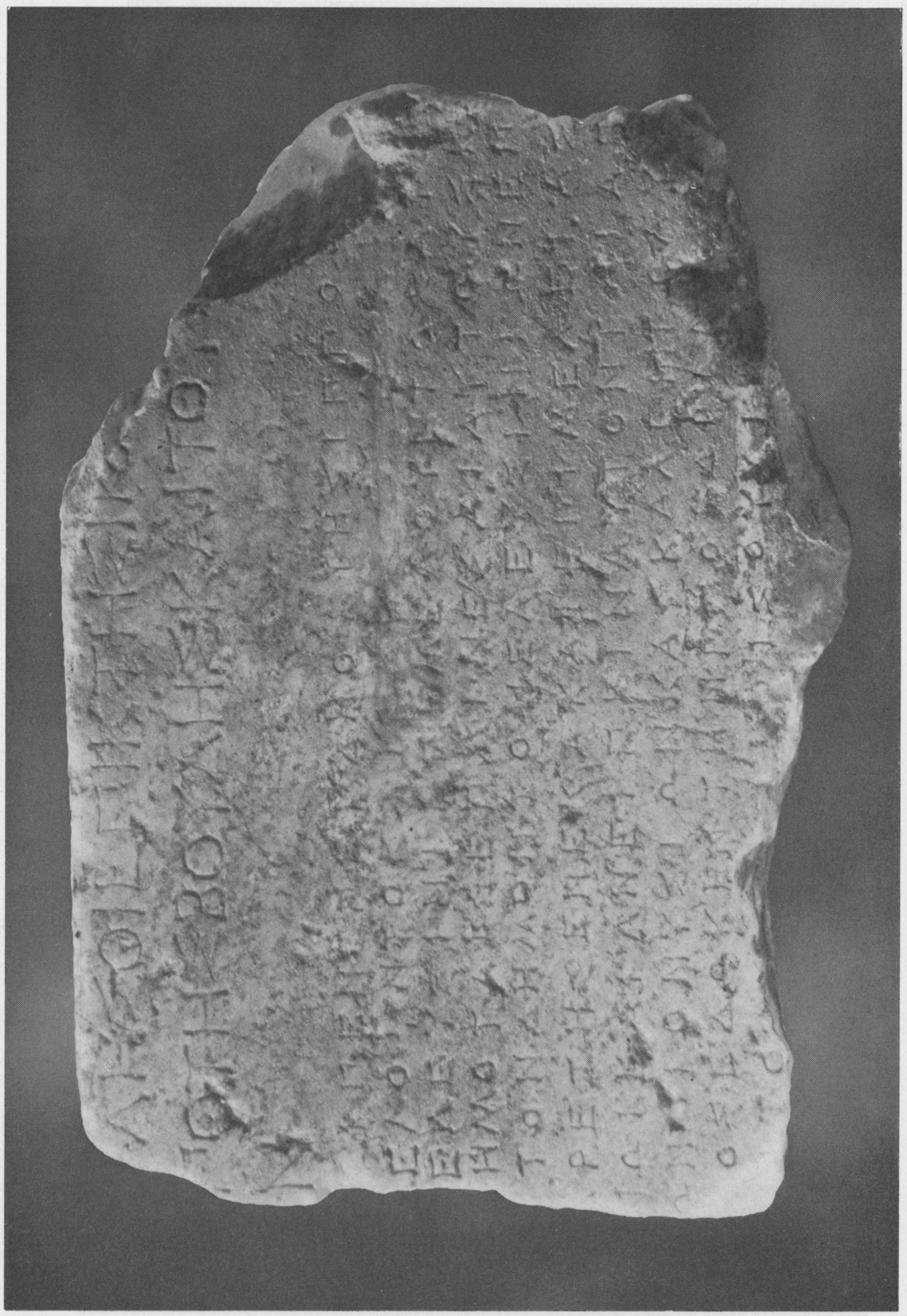
1 *a*. Upper part of stele 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1965 (1967) pp. 131-132



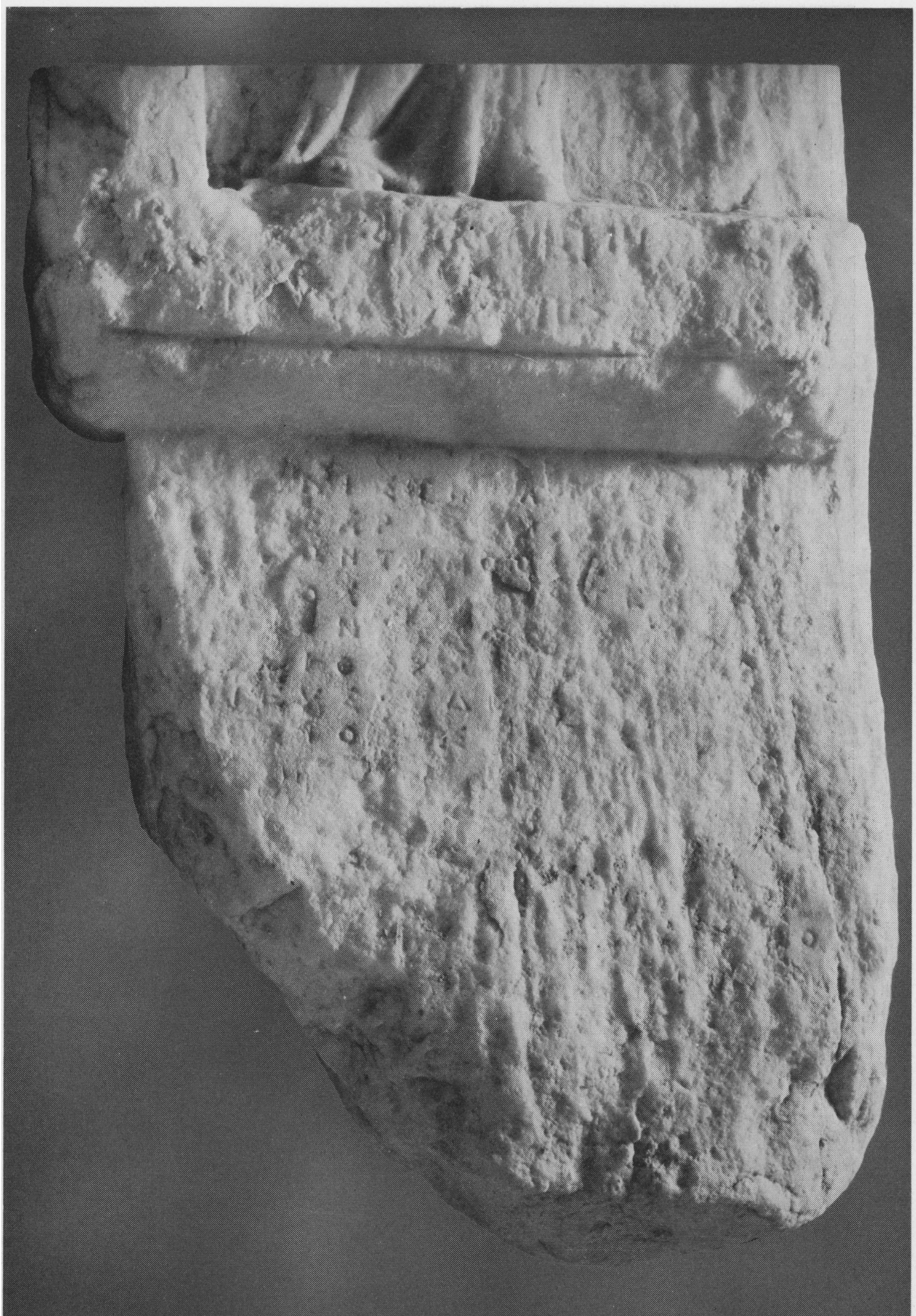
1 *b*. Lower part of stele 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1965 (1967) pp. 131-132



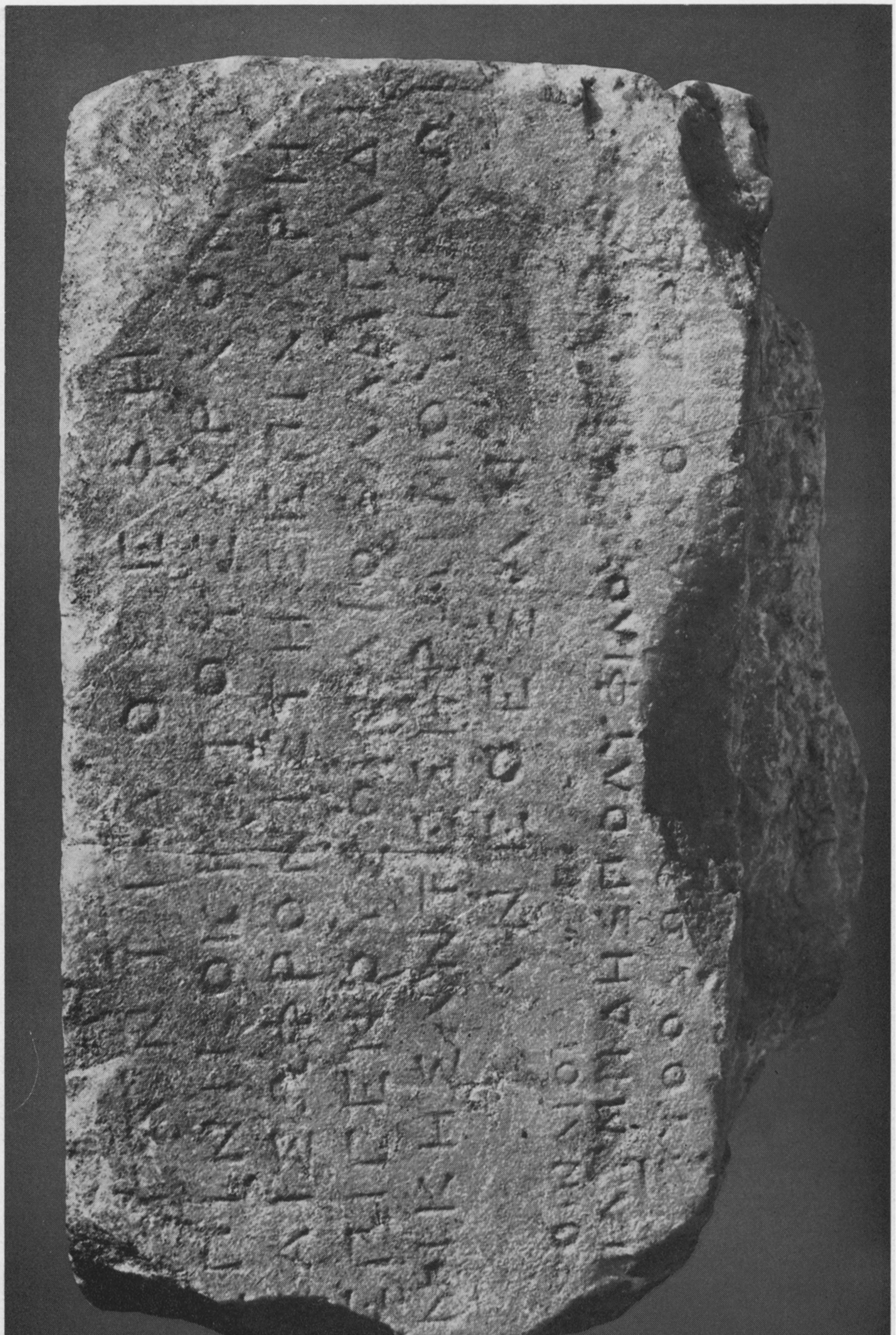
2. *IG* II², 1156



3. *IG* II² 1189

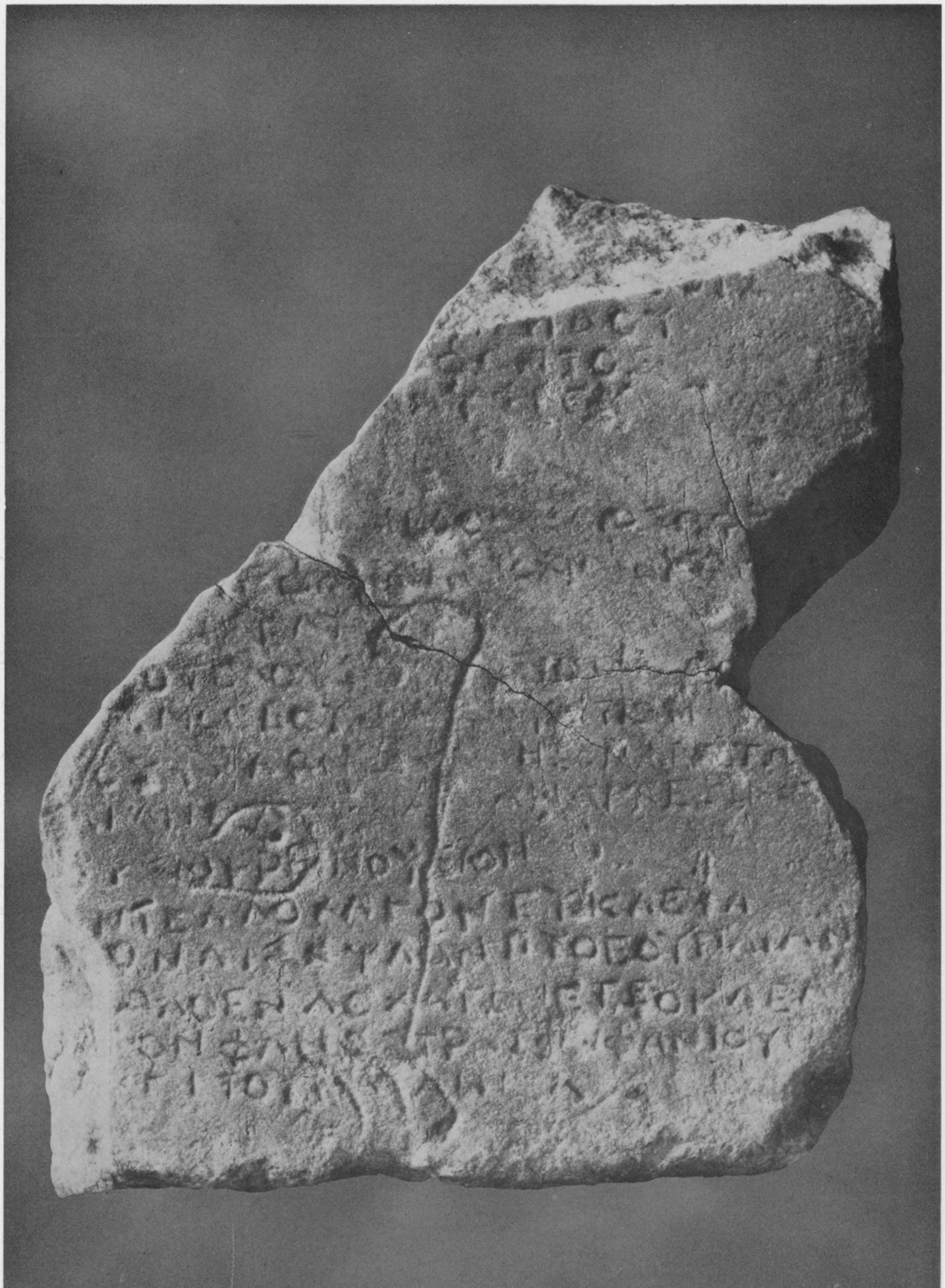


4. *IG* II² 2970

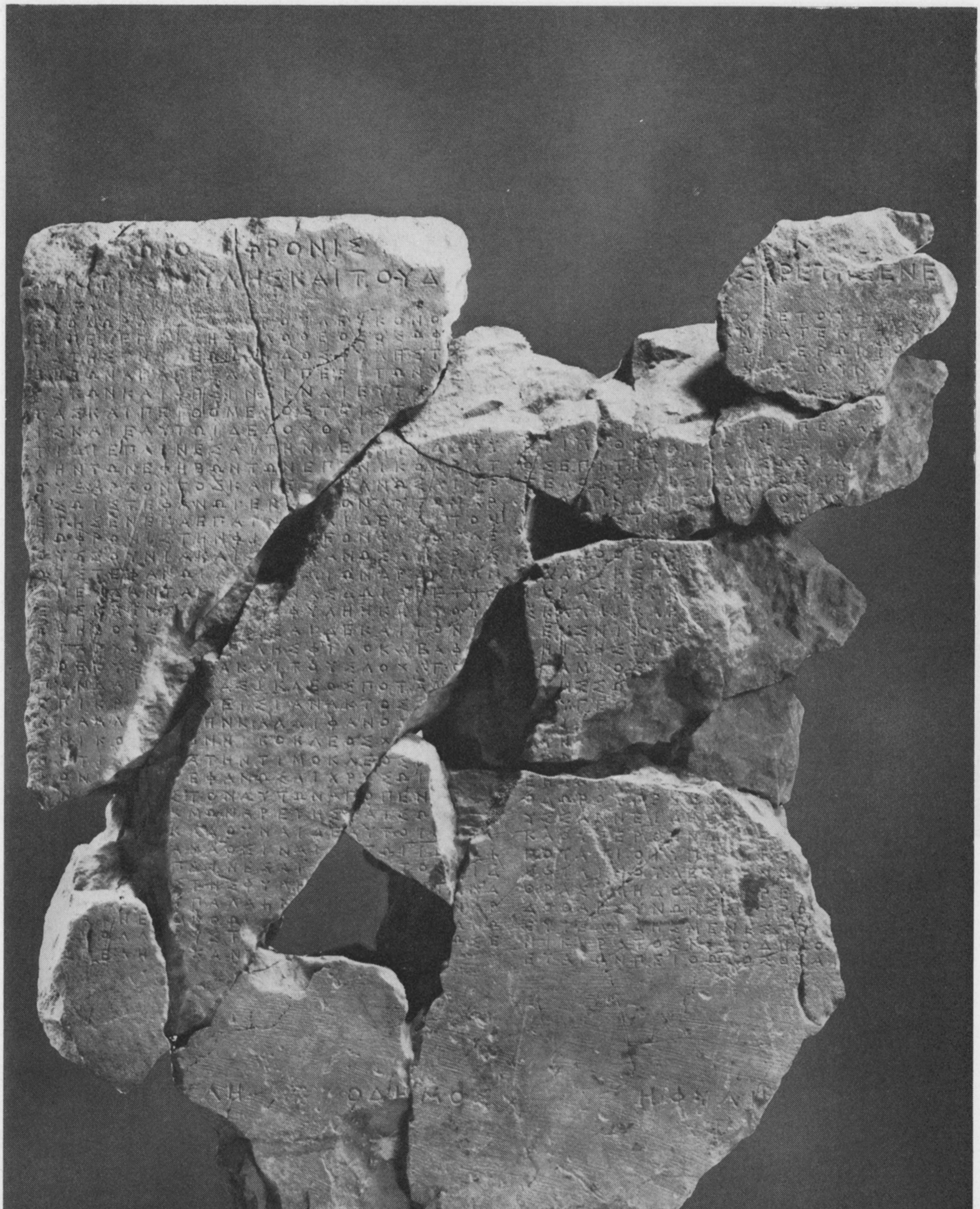


6. *Ath. Mitt.* 76, 1961, 143, n° 2

7. *Ath. Mitt.* 76, 1961, 147, n° 3

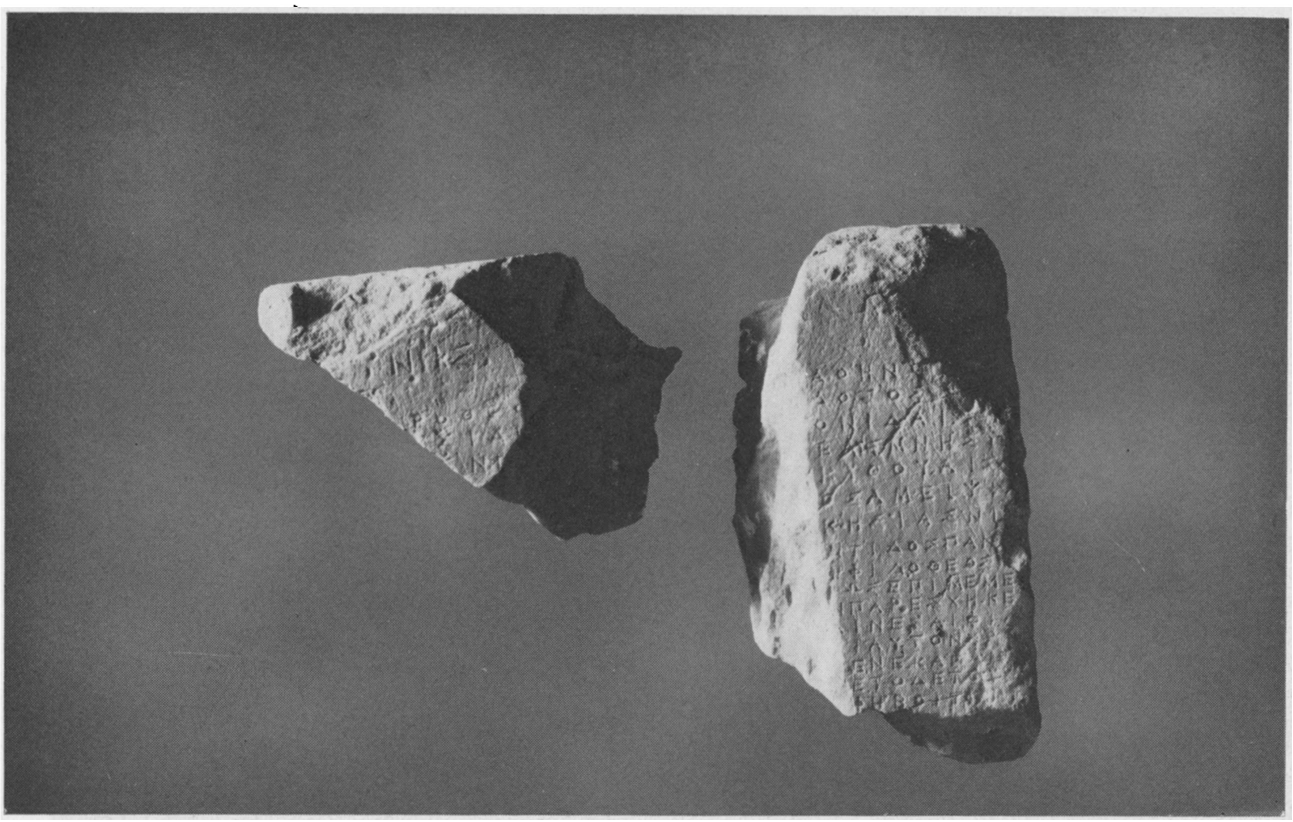


8. *AJP* 66, 1945, 234-239, re-edition of *IG* II², 2976



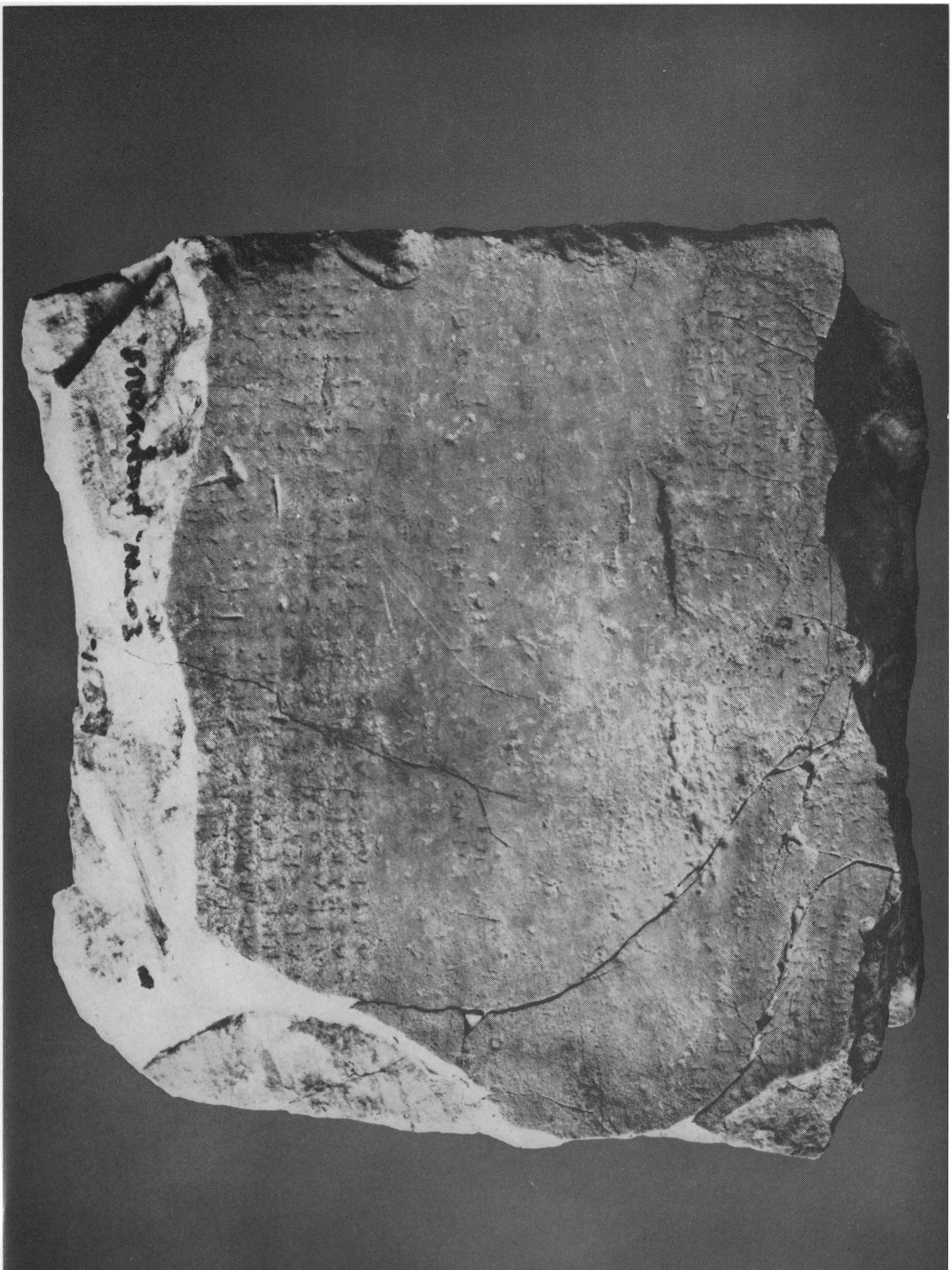
9 *a*. *Hesp*. 9, 1940, 59-66, n° 8

PLATE X



9 *b* + *c*. *Hesp*. 9, 1940, 59-66, n° 8

PLATE XI



10. *La Forteresse*, 107, n° 2

Plate XII

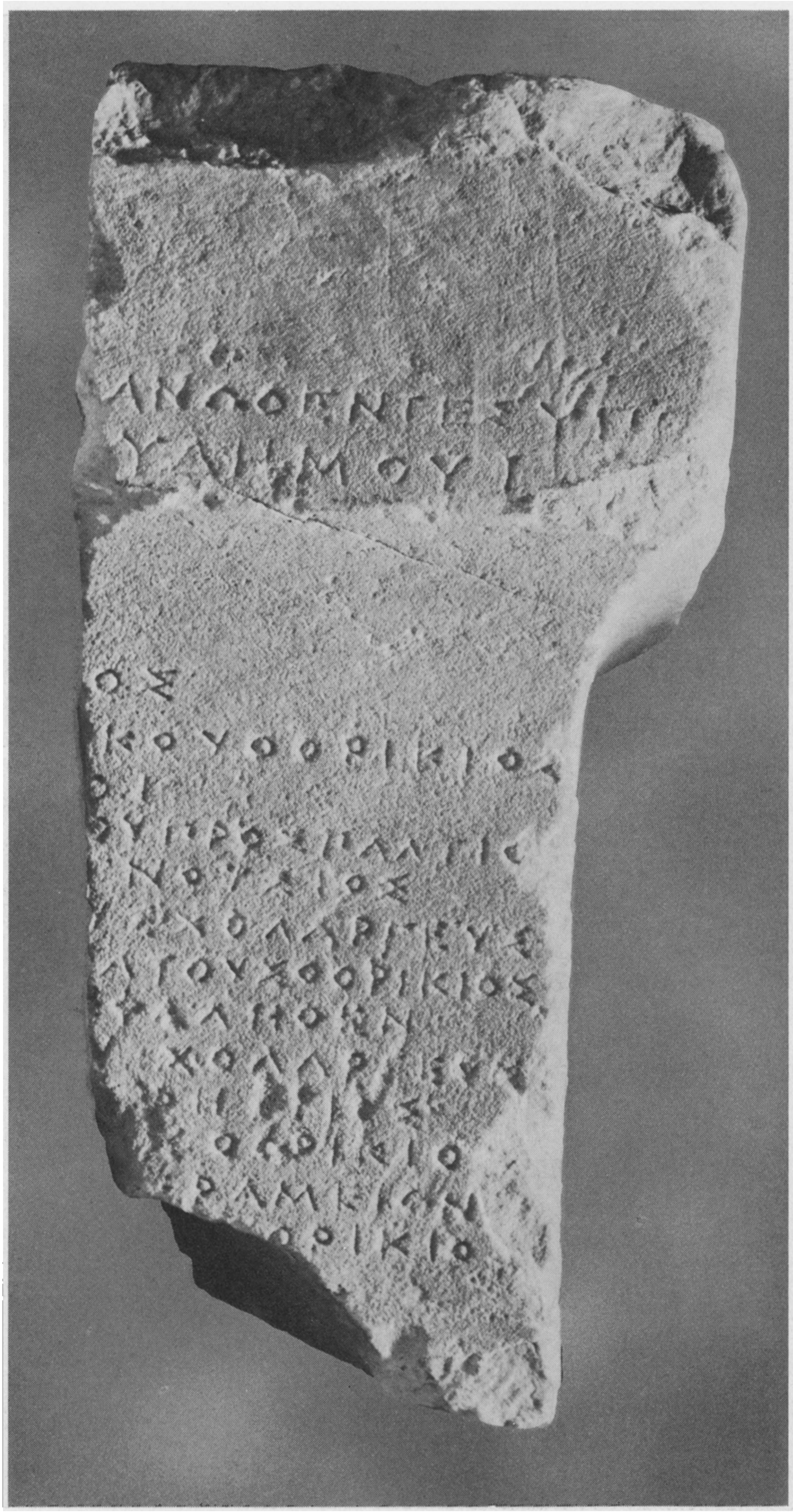
11. *La Forteresse*, 106, n° 1

12 *a*. Front *Hesp*. Suppl. 8, 1949, 273-278
12 *b*. Right side
12 *c*. Left side

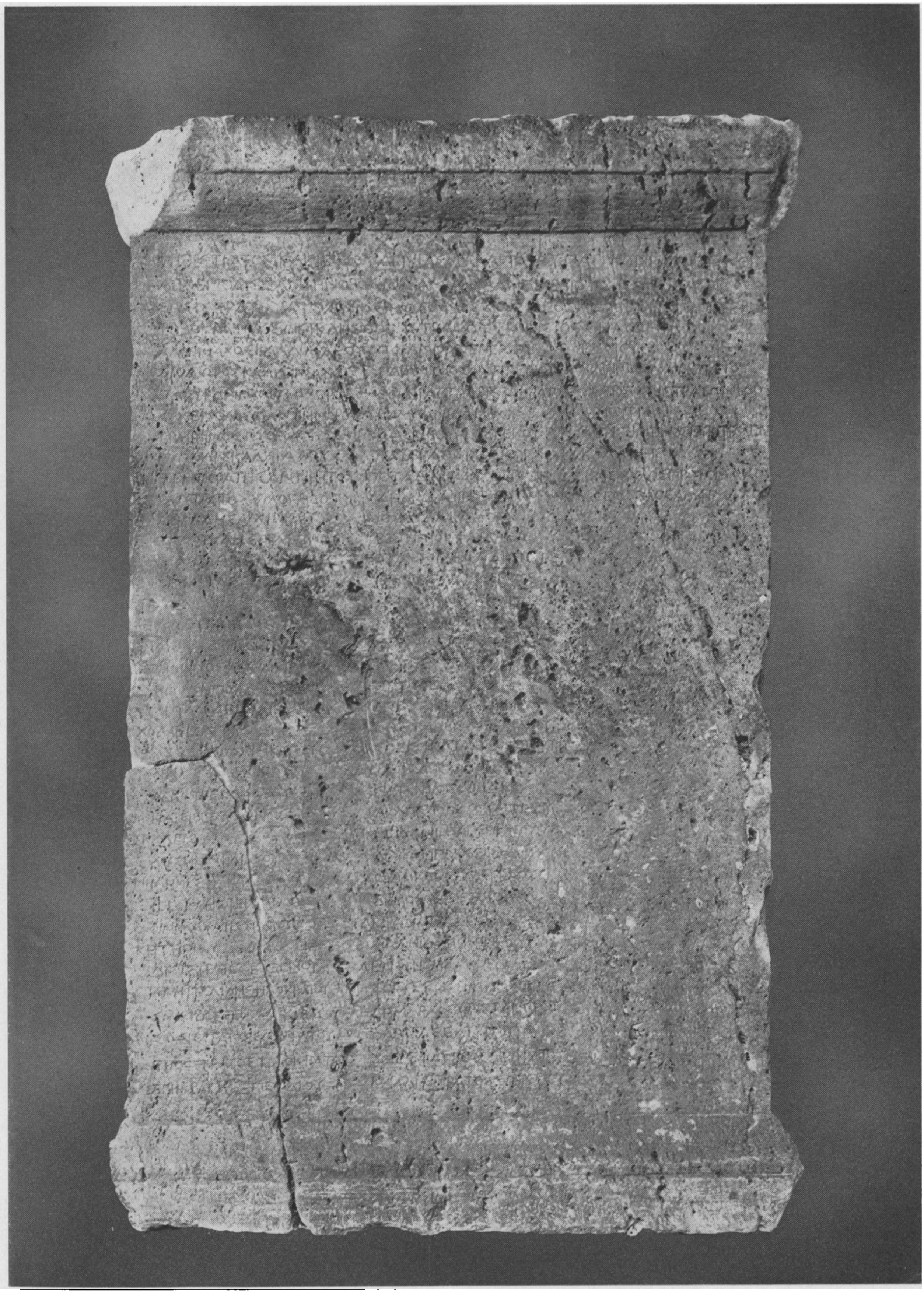
PLATE XIV

13 *a*. *La Forteresse* 3, N° 2 bis; statue + base
13 *b*. base

13 *c* + *d*. *La Forteresse* 3, n° 2 *bis*; *c* + *d* base

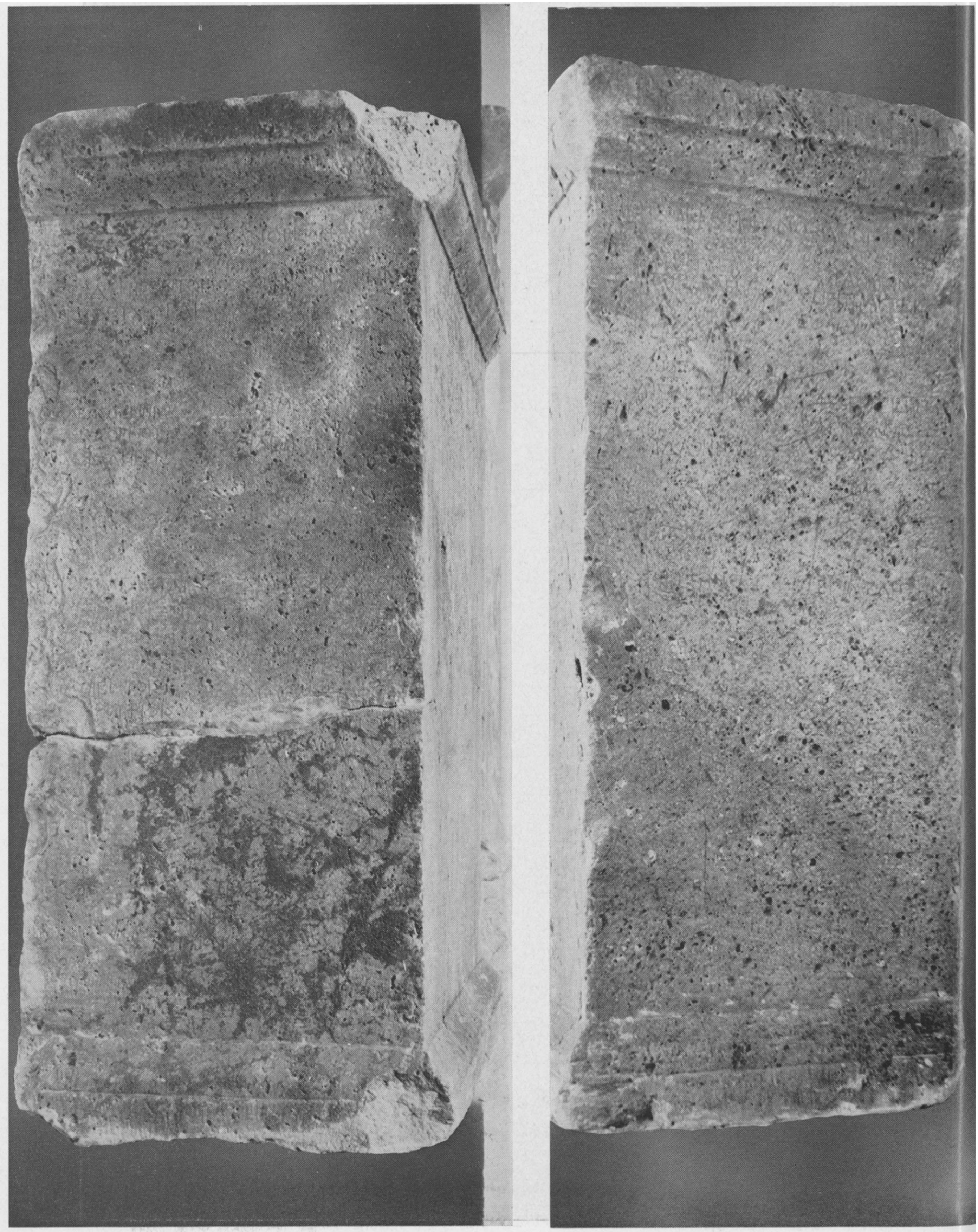


14. *Hesp.* 28, 1959, 121-126

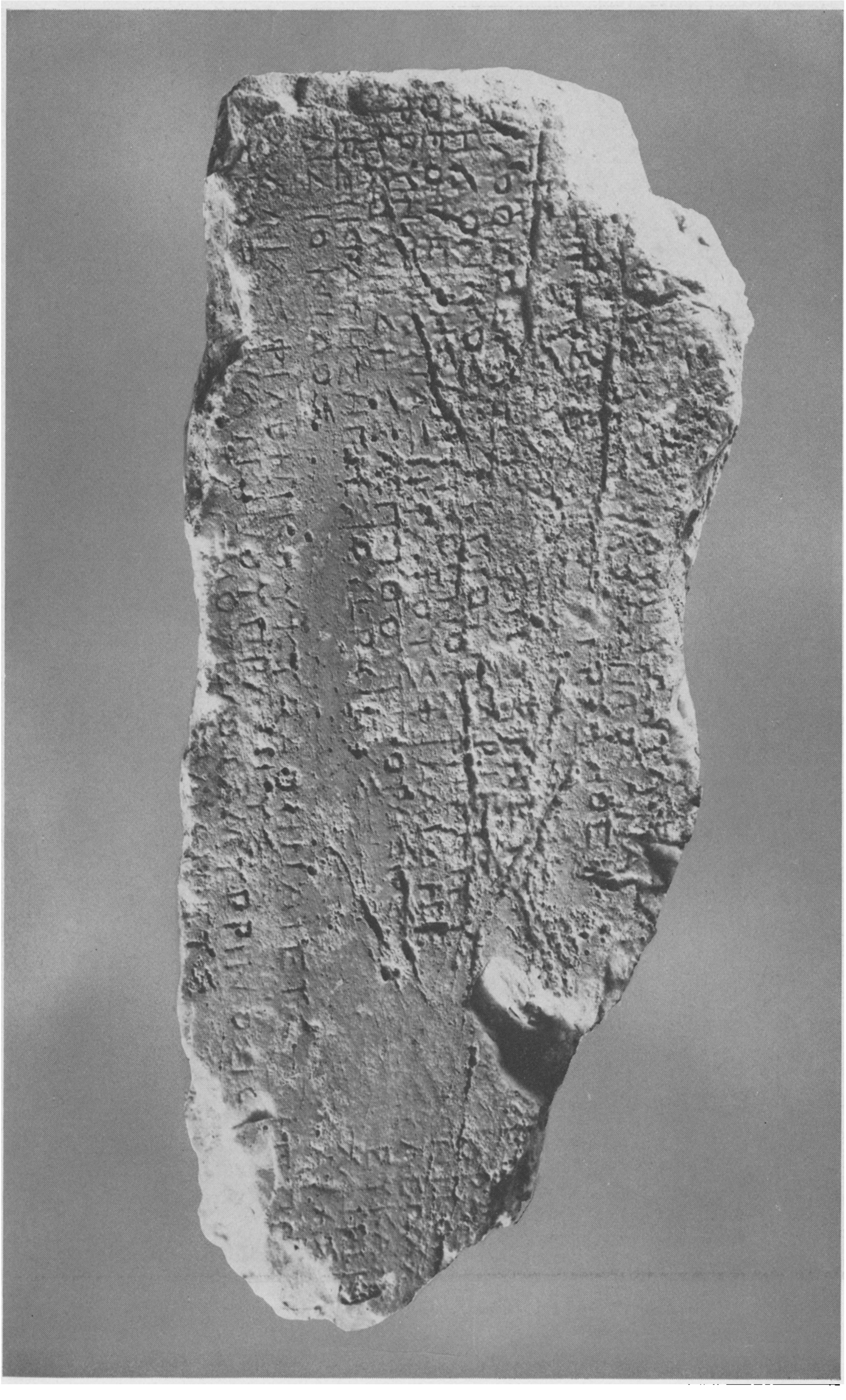


15 *a*. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1918, p. 74, n° 95; *a* front

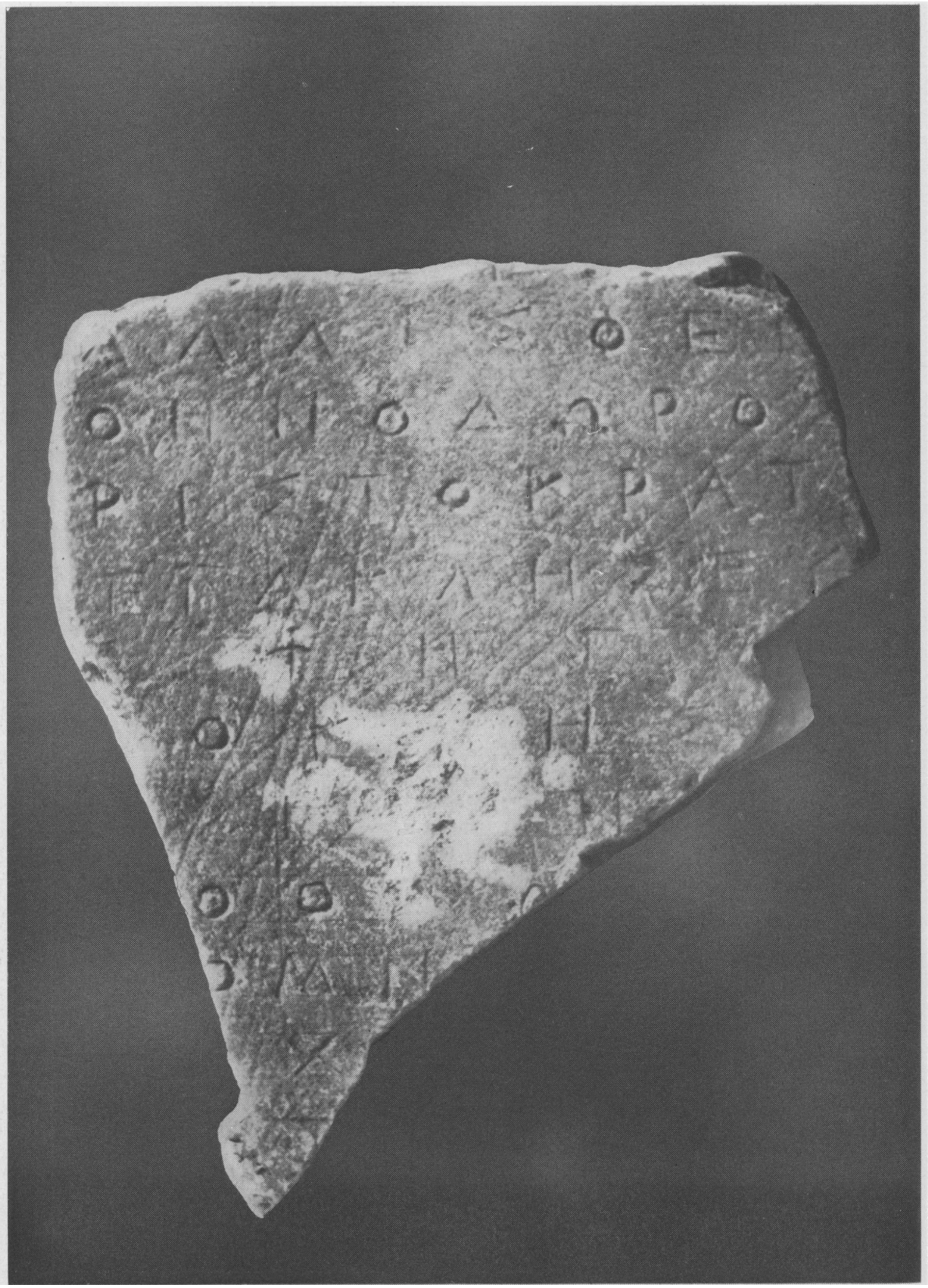
PLATE XVIII



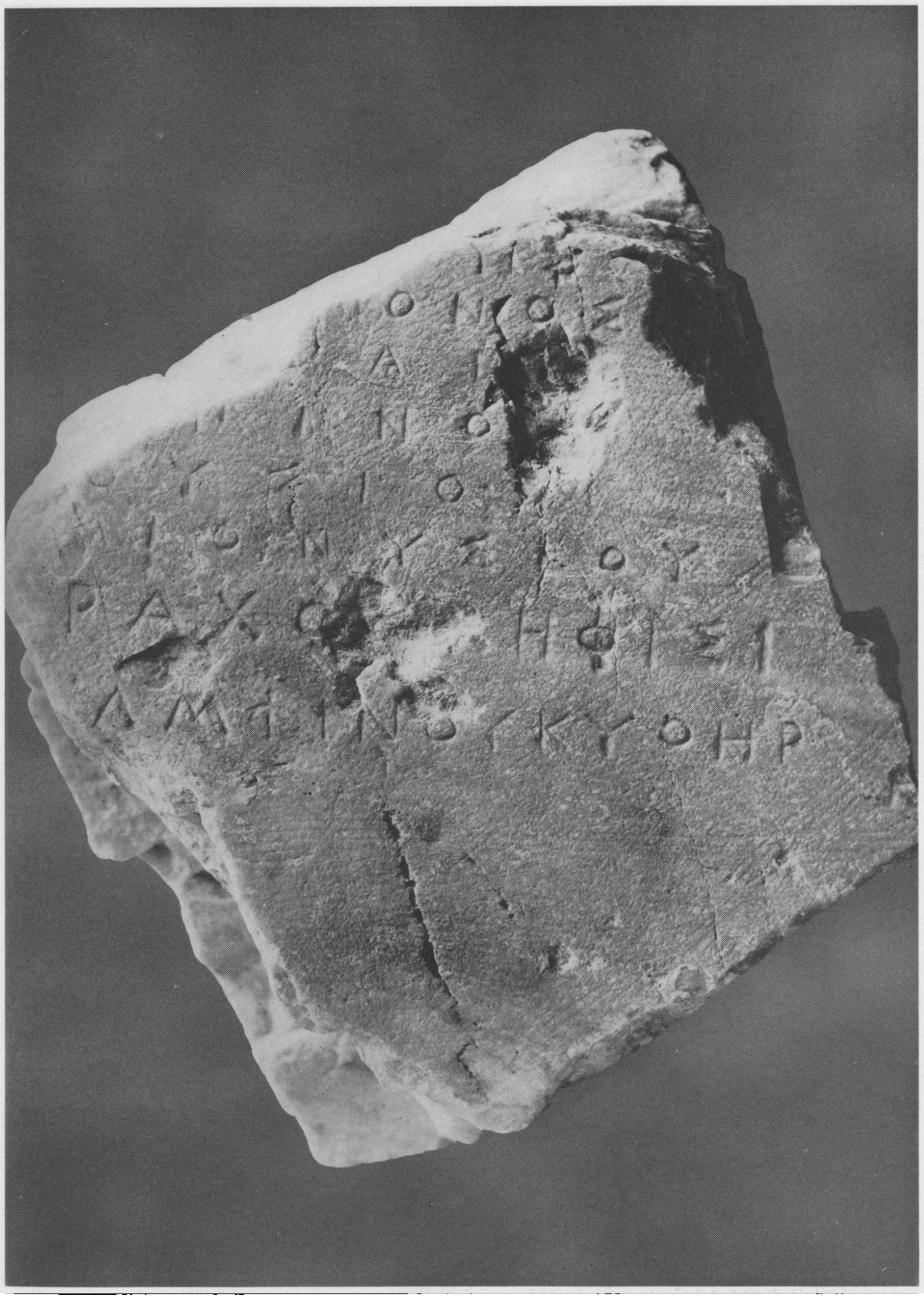
15 *b* + *c*. 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1918, p. 76, n°s 97-96; *b* Right side, *c* Left side



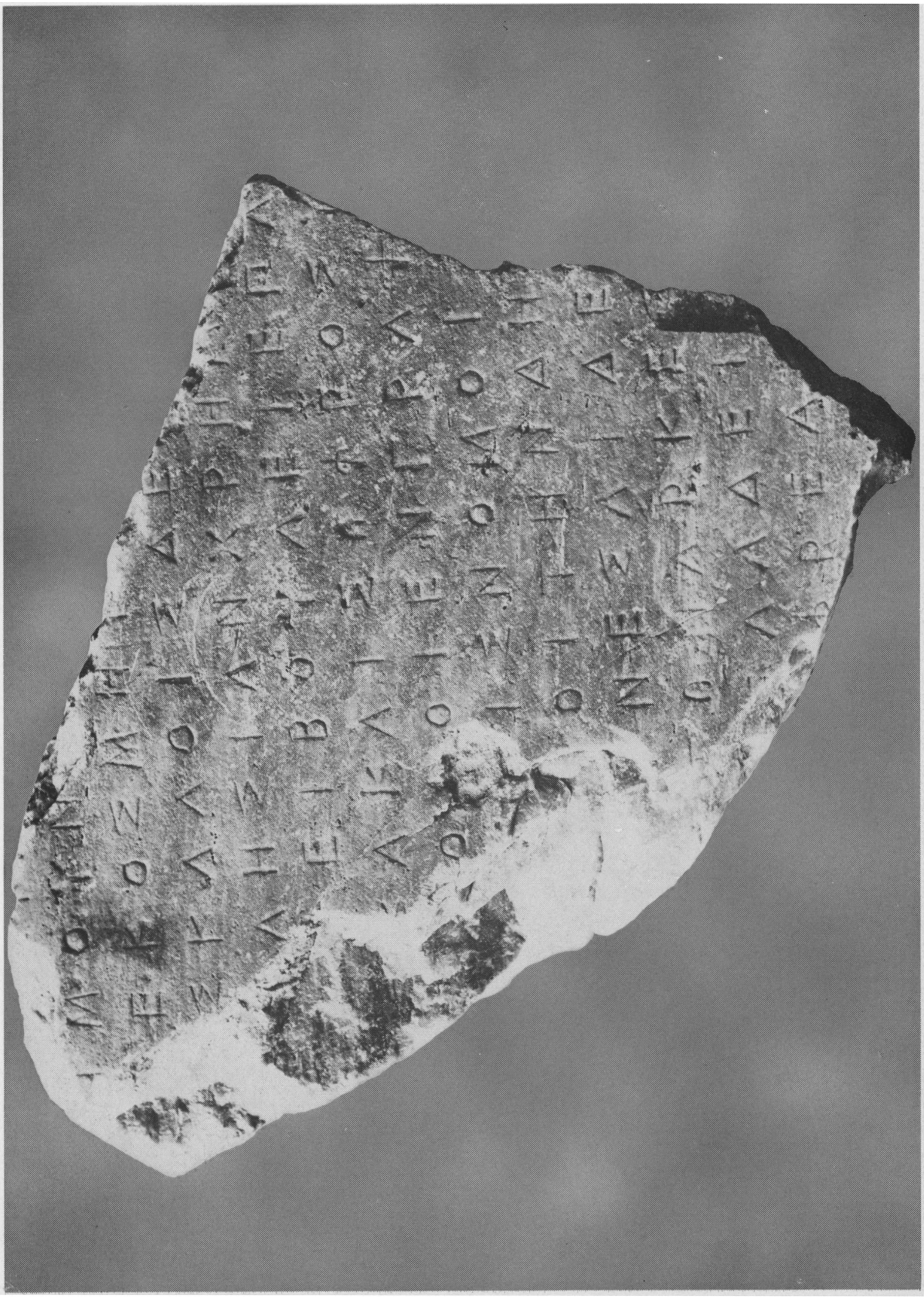
16. *Hesp.* 33, 1964, 209, N° 54



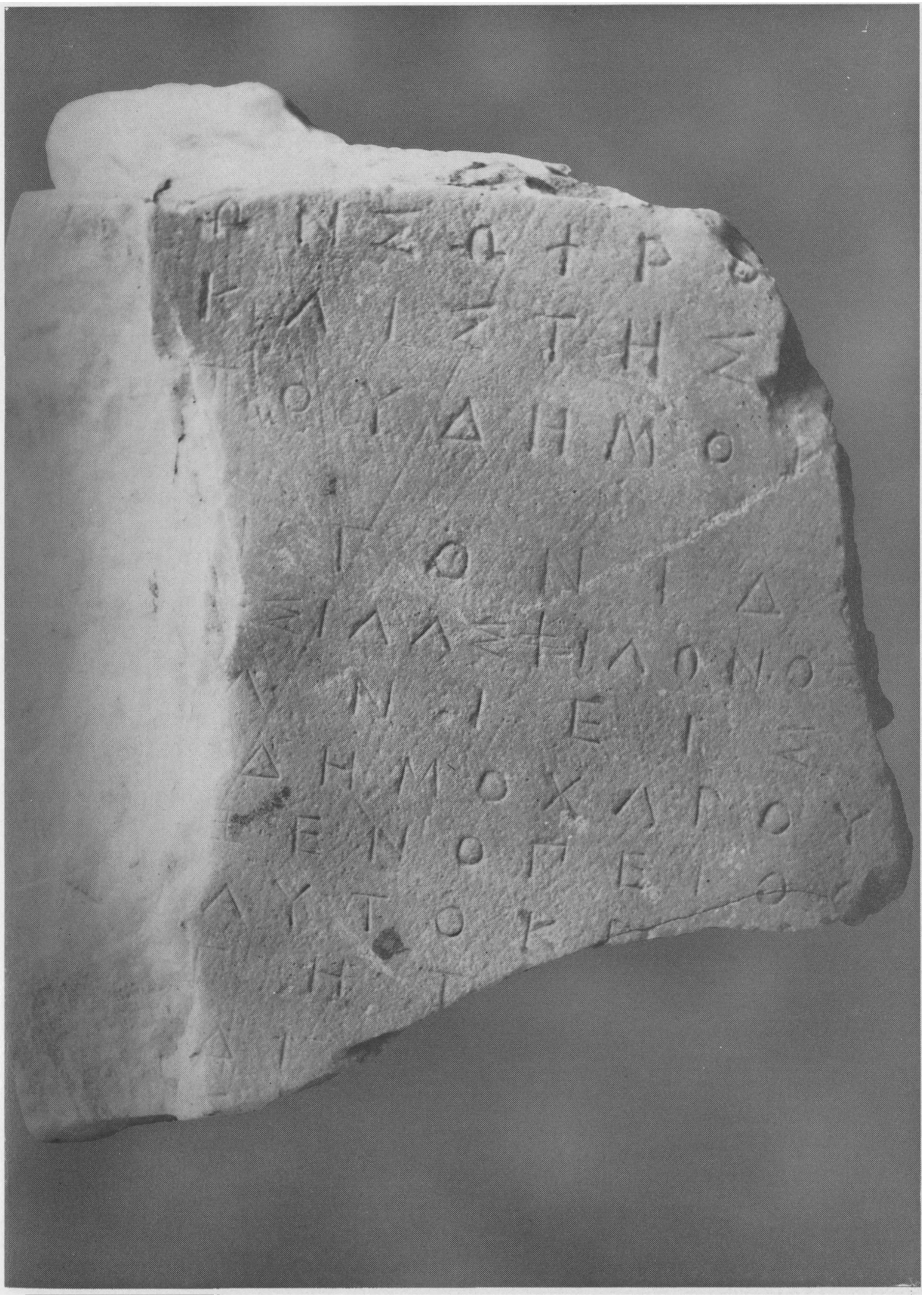
17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt. k —



17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt. 1 —



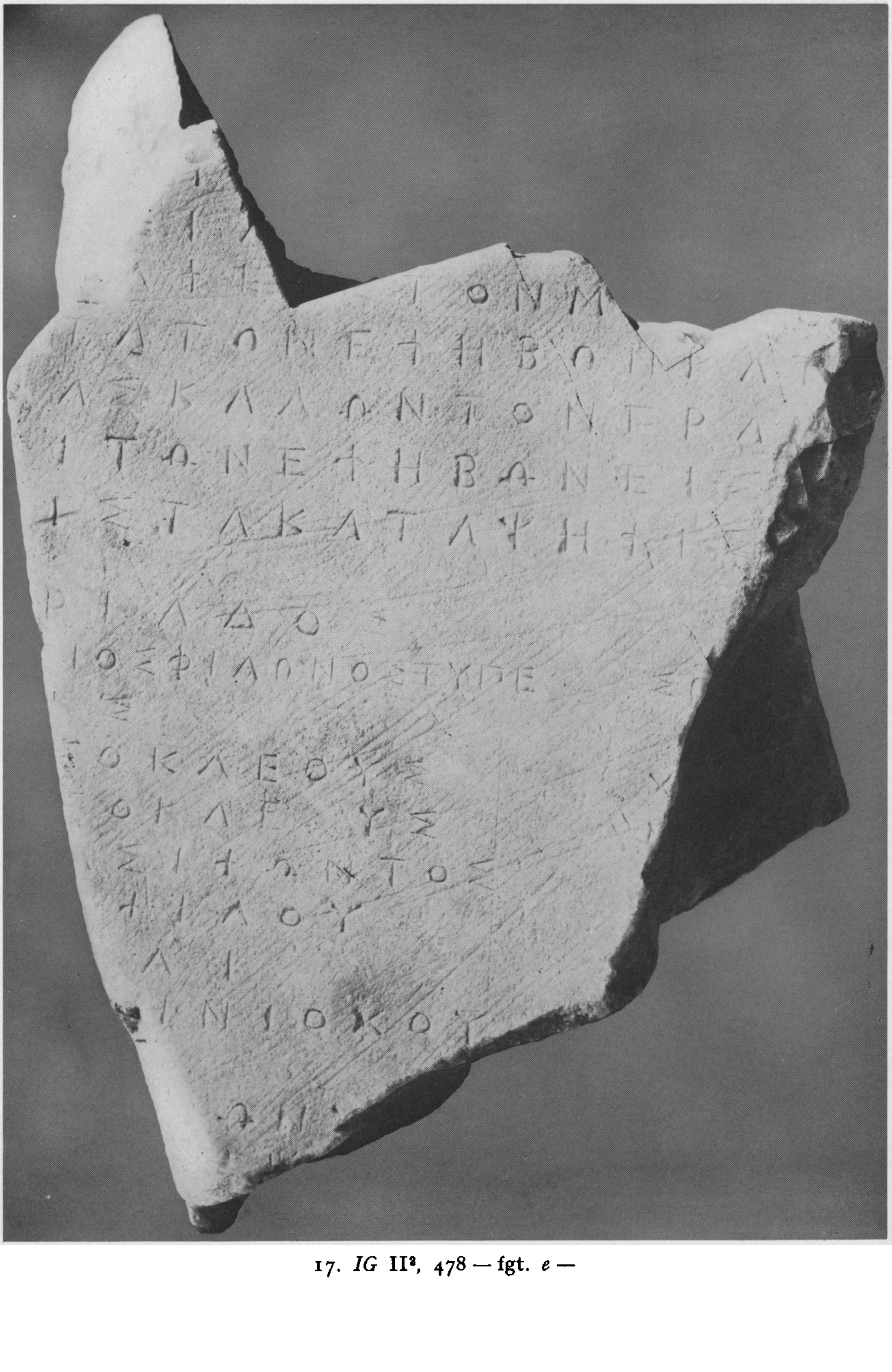
17. *IG* II^2, 478 — fgt. *b* —



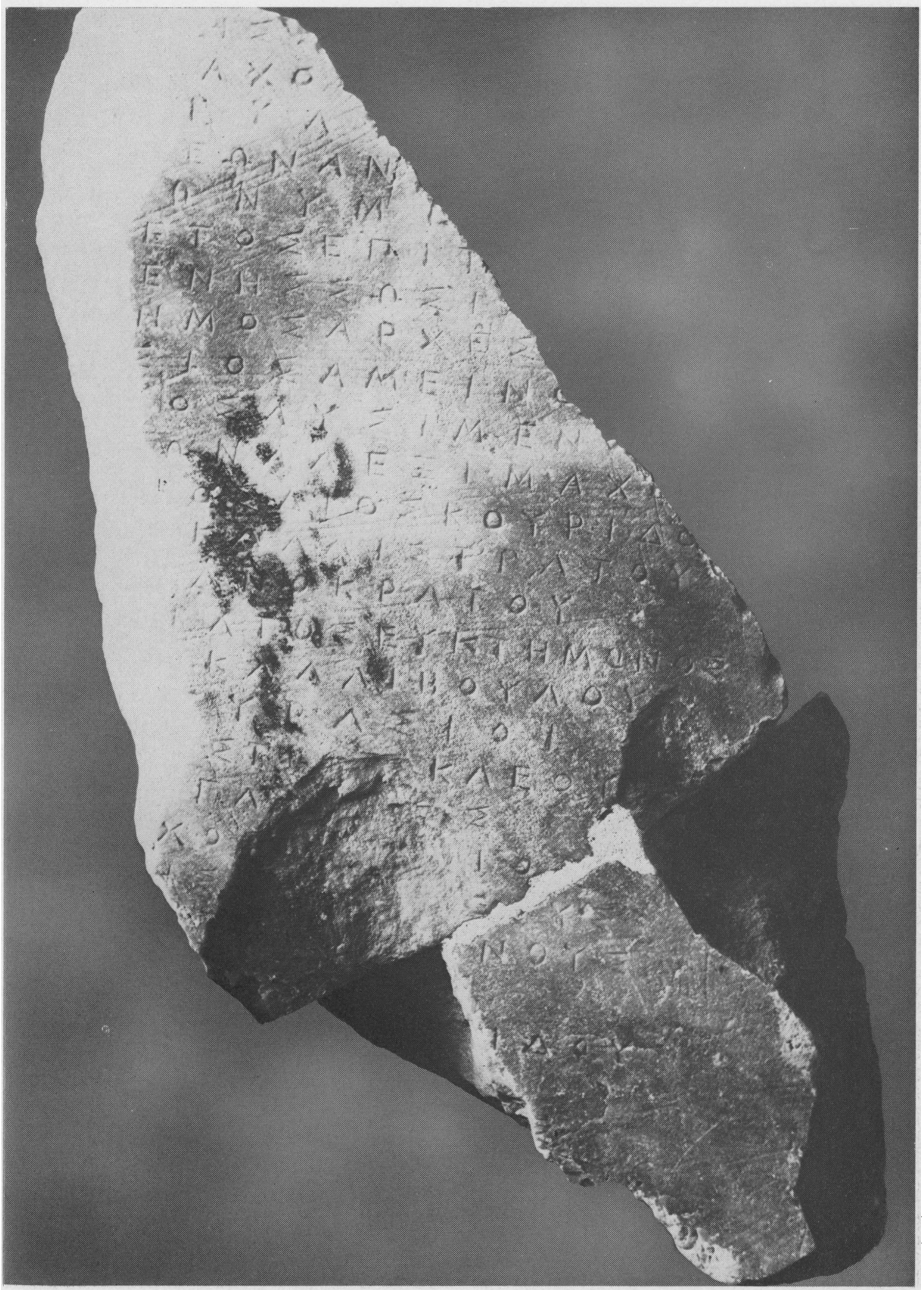
17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt *d* —

17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt. *f* —

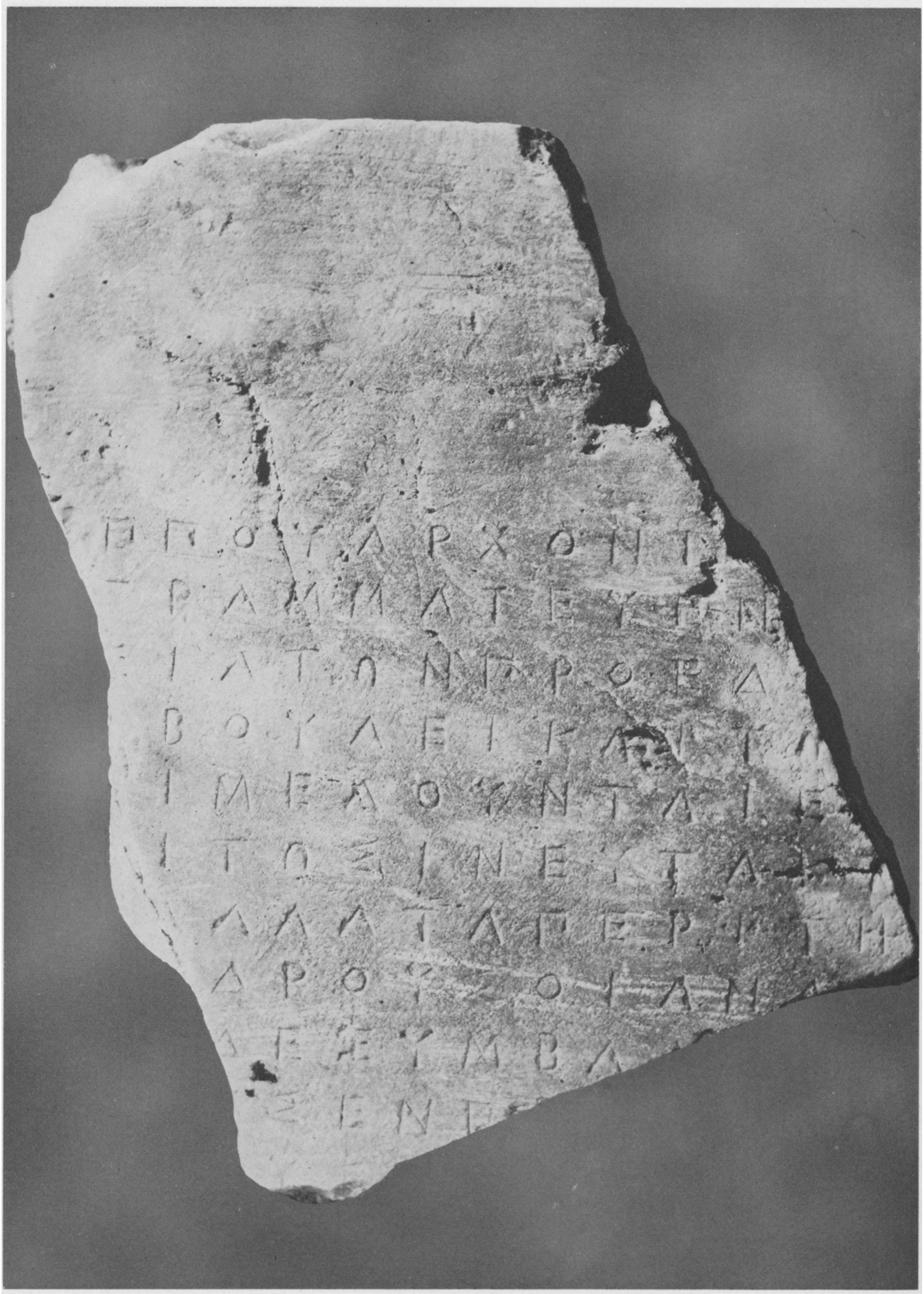
17. *IG* II², 478 — fgts. *h* and *i* joined —



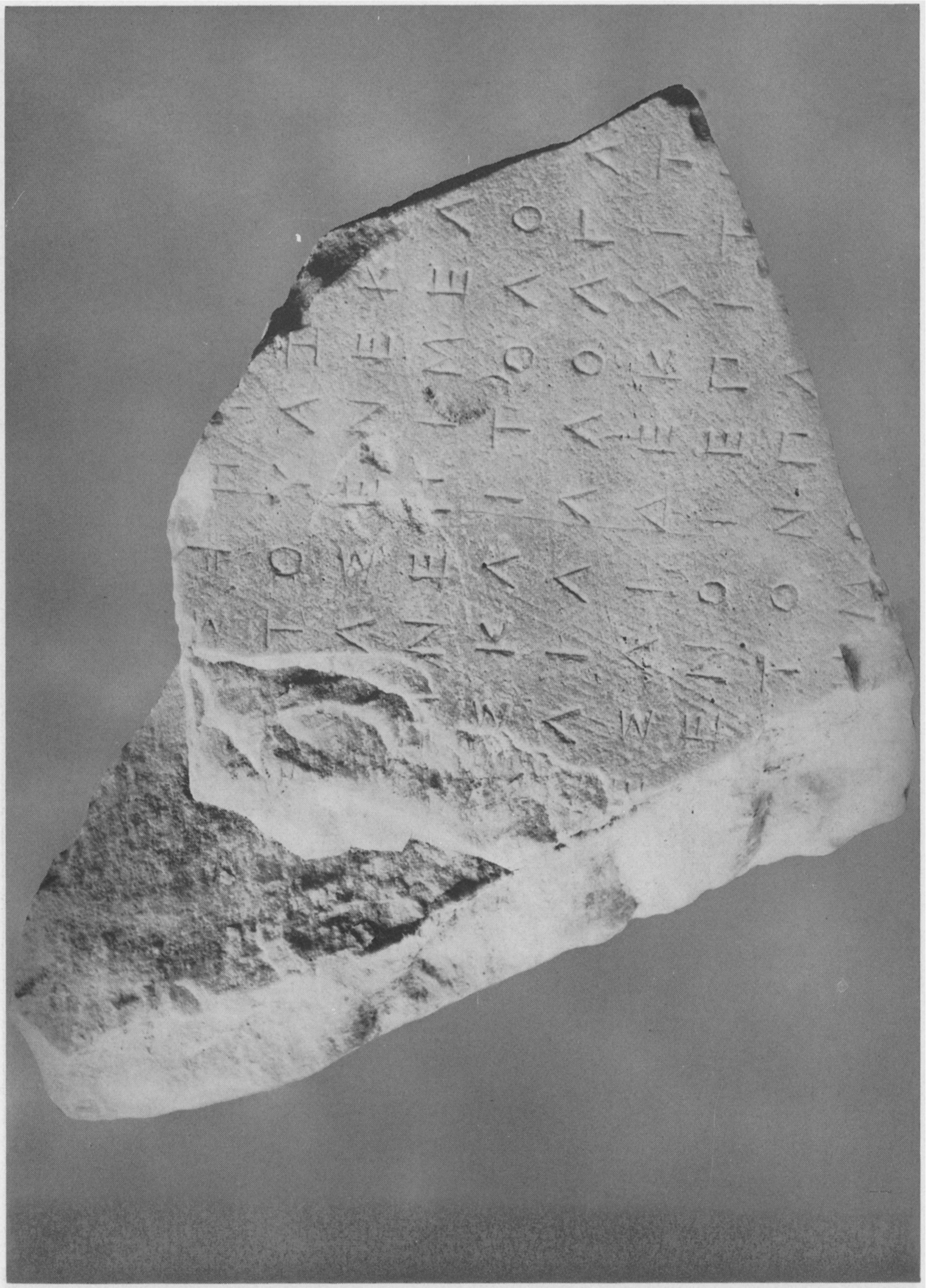
17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt. *e* —



17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt. *g* (fgt. *m* joined below) —



17. *IG* II^2, 478 — fgt. *a* —



17. *IG* II², 478 — fgt. *c* —

19. *IG* II², 1159

20. *Hesp.* 30, 1961, 8, n° 1